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NOBLE ENGLISH

VOL. III.

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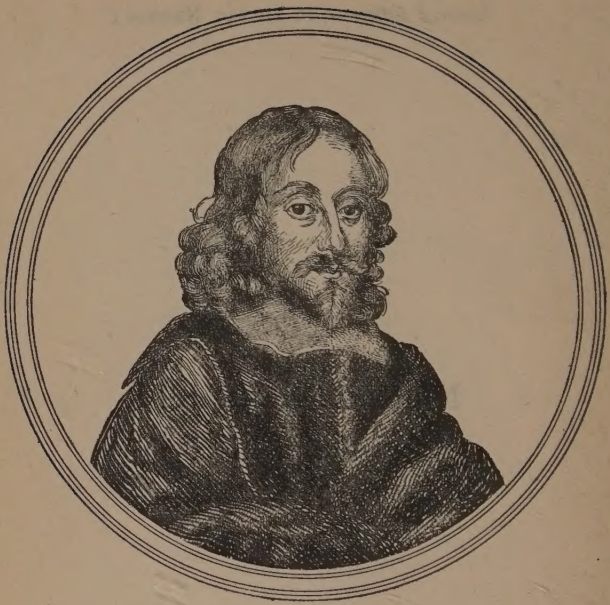

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

From a pen drawing by Russell Reeve, after an old engraving

NOBLE ENGLISH

THIRD VOLUME

Selected Prose
from
Clarendon to Dryden
Compiled by
HENRY NEWBOLT

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INTRODUCTION

In the childhood of nations, as of men, the worlds of poetry and prose are not clearly distinguished from one another; the desire for beauty is stronger than the love of objective truth, the necessity for self-expression more urgent than the necessity for statement, comparison, argument. As life proceeds it becomes desirable, for practical purposes, to isolate the prosaic elements, and to perfect a method of dealing with them in words. A nation approaching maturity, therefore, must provide itself with a prose which shall be adequate for carrying on its practical life, political, social, scientific, historical, religious, and philosophical. Poetry will have its own view of all these sides of life; it will see them not as matters of practice, conduct, or belief, but as aspects of a more universal life, a transmutation of the visible world and its concerns. The work of observing, registering, and marshalling facts, the work of analysis and inference, is better left to prose, the native language of science. The Greeks and Romans when they wrote philosophy and science in verse, made failure even in their success: they lost on the science what they gained on the poetry—neither the imaginative myths of Hesiod nor the imaginative ardour of Lucretius have any place in a scientific inquiry. There is imagination in Darwin's work, and ardour in Huxley's; but the conscious, strenuous endeavour of both is always to observe and state the world, not to transfuse and recreate it. Even in history, where character and psychology are vitally

important, and the only hope of truth lies in the personal judgment of a great mind, the material facts are still the indispensable basis for reconstruction or inference, and must be faithfully collected and used.

To find, or make, an adequate prose is not an easy matter for any nation ; least of all for the English, a people of great and various energy, whose practical and poetical genius is always straining to outrun its intellectual equipment. Our poets have done well, but then they have taken the poetic forms, the invaluable secrets of the art, from their predecessors in Greece, Rome, France, Italy, and Spain ; our men of science had no such resource, for they were using new methods and dealing with forces beyond the range of our ordinary senses. It is difficult enough to write even now in plain English on the structure of the atom or the theory of Relativity ; with an Elizabethan style and vocabulary it would have been impossible, and the same may be said of half the subjects of all kinds treated daily in our Press.

Literature, of course, is not the same thing as journalism ; but the two are more nearly related than some of us like to acknowledge. All literature is under the necessity of adapting itself continually to the demands of human life : it must change shape, tone, pace, or direction as life itself changes. This means —especially for Prose—a perpetual tendency towards the less conventional, the newer and more immediately efficient at all costs. Direct communication, to the largest audience, is the pressing need ; and the danger is a universal lowering of style to suit the taste and capacity of those least equipped with taste or capacity. Let us not deceive ourselves about this : freedom from mere convention or from obsolete rules may be an advantage to any one ; but the loss of form means the loss of personal value, and that means that the communication made by the finer and more powerful mind to the weaker and more ordinary loses the best part of

its effect by a kind of leakage—the spirit has gone out of it, and only a useless residuum ever reaches the purchaser.

Form, then, in literature is of the highest importance: it is not an ornament, an external thing, unnecessary or even detrimental to plain statement. On the contrary it is an indispensable method of approach, a kind of tact which brings the two minds together by increasing the intelligibility of the writer and the intelligent capacity of the reader: and that capacity includes the power to receive impressions of orderliness, dignity, impartiality, humanity, and other qualities which strengthen the mind of the recipient, when undigested facts or sensations would only load and debilitate it. The problem of those who write in prose is to maintain a style which, without ever losing sight of the subject in view, will at the same time preserve this tact and continually convey these impressions. And the great interest of this problem is that we can mark, if we will, the difficulty or ease with which the new writers of our own time attempt it, and the degree of their success, with the causes. But in order to do this with full understanding it is almost indispensable that we should first have noted the working out of the same problem in times when the conditions were different: when the audience was smaller, and nearer to the writer, and when even a single writer could dominate and direct his generation, prescribing a style as an autocrat might prescribe a new and improved code of laws. Dryden and Addison reigned absolutely in their own times, and Cowper spoke of Johnson as "King Critic" when he disputed one of his dogmatic utterances. These sovereigns all kept order and advanced the use of prose to the great benefit of their subjects and followers; but time passed and a people grew up to whom their tact was tact no longer, but a slow and stiff form of address, fully intelligible only to a minority. Yet a great mind will always re-

main a great mind ; and the prose of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a stage in our national growth. For these two reasons, as well as for the interest of the problem they solved for their own age, we have strong inducement to read them and to reflect upon them.

The period covered by our present volume—1650–1700—is one which offers many points of similarity or contrast with our own time. A revolution in the social and political system of England had just been carried through by force, and for a time maintained by the influence of one man. Sir Edward Hyde, of the defeated party, set himself to record events as they occurred. He had to be voluminous as no English historian had ever been, and to control, as no other had ever had to control, his partisan feelings, which involved his patriotic creed and his estimate of his opponents' character and achievements. His prose is not technically perfect, but it rises to many of its opportunities, and reveals with unfailing tact a man of admirable temperament. His love of his country enables him to feel pride in the success of Blake's fleet and the Protector's foreign policy ; his detestation of Cromwell's " wickedness " is subdued by his sense of style, which is one with his sense of justice, and his generosity. Cowley offers a fascinating contrast : in imagination and in command of language he towers far above Clarendon ; but his outlook seems by comparison that of a romantic boy, and brilliantly coloured as his vision is at first, it fades into a theological and patriotic fustian which looks poor beside the patient wisdom of the statesman.

Urquhart's task was a special one ; he was translating, and his original was a help as well as a hindrance to him. His immense merits are that he did what no one else could have done, and in spite of great difficulties of more than one kind, never betrayed his author or his readers : above all that he made a gift

to his own people of the humour and the humanity of the greatest of all Frenchmen, keeping perfectly not only his meaning but that nobility which was the best part of it. The humour and the humorous method we have made use of—in Peacock's novels, for example, and in Kingsley's *Water Babies*—but in the philosophy of social life and the passion for true education we have not yet learned the lessons of Gargantua. In the matter of war and reparations we are now learning them.

In Walton's book we cannot tell how much is prose and how much poetry—how far the visible, audible, and tangible England of his own time is before us, and how far we are looking at the ideal country of all good fishermen. Both are undoubtedly there—the gallant Trout, the Chub (or Chavender), the musical Thrassel, the Otter and the Otterhounds, are all as real to us as the songs of the Milkmaid and her mother are unfamiliar. Everywhere there is mingled this "continual slight novelty": conversation becomes converse, fact becomes hobby—it is one way of making literature out of life.

Bunyan takes another way, for his purpose is not to delight but to move the heart with terror and hope. The English of the Authorized Version is capable of being adapted to many uses: for throwing strong lights and shadows upon the life of humble folk with no abiding city Bunyan could have found nothing to equal it, if he had been as learned as he was ignorant. His power of fusing it for his own mould is shown by the ease with which he can bring in his light-hearted pilgrim songs—among his Biblical quotations and phrases they are perfectly in place, and yet they are entirely English and hardly less cavalier than puritan.

The author of the *Religio Medici* was an artist to the tip of his quill; his style was made to give the form and pressure of his own mind, and not to meet any national need. But the gift of thoughts so tersely

and memorably expressed is a lesson in manners as well as in thinking. Lessons should be taken one by one, and for many, perhaps for most of us, it will be better to attend Sir Thomas Browne for half an hour every day rather than to sit with him continuously for a long term. His value may be seen in quotations: two lines from him will either illuminate or expose the quality of the writer who dares to borrow them.

Dryden is in strong contrast to Browne: his influence extended to every region of literature, for his reforms were deliberate and began with grammar itself. Unsatisfactory as his personal conduct was, and most of his verse, he deserved to rule his generation, for he was head and shoulders above them in bulk and movement and in the sane knowledge of life. He attained, as may be seen by his admirable piece on Chaucer, the perfection of that tact which is the secret of good prose—he is easy and yet correct, conciliatory and yet decided; he never forgets what is due to the reader or his own dignity.

NOBLE ENGLISH

Vol. III

CROMWELL'S POLICY AT HOME AND ABROAD

[Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, was born at Dinton in Wiltshire, 1608, educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, called to the Bar at twenty-five, and entered the House of Commons at thirty-two. During the Civil War he took the side of the King, and served him as Privy Councillor and Chancellor of the Exchequer; after Charles's death he became chief minister of the Royalist party in exile, and was eventually Lord Chancellor under Charles II. His *History of the Great Rebellion* is lengthy and in places awkwardly written; but it is often brilliant and always sincere. No other English historian can show such a series of contemporary portraits; and his unique study of Cromwell is distinguished by an insight and generosity very remarkable in so frank a partisan. The estimate of Robert Blake with which the extract concludes is the only good account we possess of one of our greatest seamen.]

1. The Two Great Fleets

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed

him exceedingly, more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his stubborn Parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea.

The one under Penn; consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there were likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire, who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition. Both these superior officers were well affected to the King's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did by several ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in), send to the King that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the King's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any port, without which neither had promised to engage; nor make, out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them), such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. And so he wished them to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed, from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself (for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend), and to reserve their

affections for his majesty till a more proper season to discover them. The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom they had all confidence.

Neither fleet knew what the other or what itself was to do, till they came to such a point, where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that for many months after they were both at sea nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving (as he professed) to give his friendship to that Crown that should best deserve it: and without doubt both Crowns were amused with his preparation, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonso de Cardinas there (in England) after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the Catholic King. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that King to the same apprehension and expectation.

2. Penn's Defeat and Blake's Victory

The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake made its course directly to the Mediterranean, being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Argiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service he was to open another commission which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Penn was bound directly to the Barbados, where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that after a shorter stay at the Barbados than they had reason to expect had they not found two frigates, which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together which were brought ready in quarters, making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation), about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where after a short stay they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbados joined to

him ; and, having a prosperous wind, they came about the middle of April within view of Santo Domingo, which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they did call a council of war ; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was, and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them. And join they did ; but (by) the march which Venables had made, and in which he spent two days and a half, in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, in which they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse, being armed with long lances and other arms which they had not been accustomed to ; so, tired

and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them, and were in that disorder pursued till they came to their main body, upon sight whereof the Spaniards retired, without any loss, and having left the captain of the forlorn hope and above fifty of his company dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay and the fresh water river they had found there ; where they staved so long that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion, that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards that they are willing to betray them and do any mischieve to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort ; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury that disordered the whole army ; which though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, it was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to their bay, with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major-general was one.

And this fright they never recovered, but within few days, after having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways

lost their lives there ; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica, where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard, who received infinite damage from thence ; they who were so easily frighted and beaten when they were in a great body upon the other island, making after incursions with small numbers into it from Jamaica, and sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Penn into England.

The other fleet, under the command of Blake, had better success, without any misadventures. And after he had reduced those of Argiers (where he anchored in their very mole), to submit to such conditions for the time past and the time to come as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis, which he found better fortified and more resolved ; for the King from thence returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town ; whilst he manned out several long boats, manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbour, and set fire to all the ships which were there, being nine men of war, which were burned to ashes ; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt ; all the boats, with the rest of the men, returned safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers (for he had a great command over his passions) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore he committed both Penn and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again, and could not in a long time speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica ; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished it might be recalled ; but he would not hear of it, and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of 1,500 men to carry on that work, and resolved nothing more than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. And therefore he sent orders to Blake that he should watch the return of the plate-fleet, and do what mischieve he could upon the coast of Spain, and gave direction to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done. What had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal was now exposed to the light ; and he sent Lock(h)art his ambassador into France, who was received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He made an alliance with France ; and Cromwell undertook to send over an army of six thousand foot, to be commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from marshal Turyn ; and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken they were to be put into Cromwell's hands.

3. Government by Major Generals

As upon the dissolution of the unruly Parliament Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Argiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England ; so he did not in the mean time neglect to take all the ways he could devise to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's party so low that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him, yet he discerned that by breaking their fortunes and estates he had not at all broken their spirits, and that by taking so many of their lives their numbers were not lessened, and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him ; to which he knew there were enough inclined, who were no kinder to the other than himself.

But that which troubled him most was the distemper in his army, where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them a guard to his own person ; and to that purpose he sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazar, a man well known in the Protestant cantons ; but this came to be discovered, and he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved, therefore, upon an expedient which should

provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people as in the army. He constituted out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to his person a body of major generals ; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general : so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man in those counties which were committed to his charge had all that authority which was before scattered among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

The major general committed what persons he thought fit to suspect ; took care to levy all moneys which were appointed by the Protector and his council to be collected for the public ; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to ; and no appeal against any of their acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge ; and if they stayed longer, they should be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey his major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year ; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon ; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. And by this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned by degrees that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power ; and, besides that they carried themselves like so many bassas with their bands of janizaries towards the

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people, and were extremely odious to them of all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

4. Blake and the Spanish Bullion Fleet

When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Argiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica the war was sufficiently declared against the Catholic King, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him; Blake finding himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cadiz in expectation of the Indian fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water and some other provisions which they wanted, and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which within a very short time after the remove of the fleet came upon the coast, and before they were discovered by the captain of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got to them (though he was inferior to them in number), they rather thought of saving their

wealth by flight than of defending themselves; and so the admiral run on shore in the bay, and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife and sons and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter perished: his other daughters and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English, who took the rear-admiral and two other ships very richly laden, which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England; the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and so carried through the city of London to the Tower, to be there coined, as it was within as short time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave it out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was very prodigious, though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet, which was shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

5. Cromwell Proposed for King

Cromwell now thought his reputation both abroad and at home so good that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament, and by their countenance and concurrence suppress or compose those refractory spirits which crossed him in all places; and having

first made such shriefs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties, and having prepared all things to this purpose as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster upon the seventeenth of September in the year 1656 ; when, upon the returns, he found that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned who were men of the most notorious malignity against him. And therefore he resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the House who did not first subscribe that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a Protector ; which being tendered many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not for the most part the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges and freedom of Parliament.

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischieve. And so a Speaker was chosen ; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that he (the Protector) began to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an Act of renunciation of any title that Charles Steward (for so they had long called the King) or any of that family might pretend ; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. And then they passed several Acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised.

They granted tonnage and poundage to the Protector for his life, and passed several other Acts for the raising of moneys ; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London from before the beginning of the troubles ; by all which ways vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. And all these Acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority ; and he as graciously confirmed them all, and told them, that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness.

But notwithstanding all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding ; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority ; and notwithstanding all that was done, they might, for aught appeared, remove him from being both Protector and general. There had been for some time jealousy between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals ; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he did desire to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of Parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament than to appear to be out of his own inclination. But there yet appeared neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor (any) difference between them.

The Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act

of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed, and that the government would be better if it passed another consultation besides that of the House of Commons. In matter of religion, he would often speak that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off. He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all the devices to dispose them to come to him, and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had despatched those Acts which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, that they might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of the king; and then he (would know) what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied.

This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe that the making Cromwell king for the present was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty, and that the army

and the whole nation would then have been united rather to restore the true than to admit a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected and known would be the more detested.

6. The Proposer's Arguments

He gave the whole House audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare overture to him as the desire of his Parliament ; at which he seemed surprised, and told them he wondered how any such thing came into their minds ; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive ; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title. They who were well prepared to expect such an answer told him, that they hoped he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the Parliament had desired upon such long and mature deliberation ; that they knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them ; that they were appointed to offer many reasons which had induced the House to make this request to him ; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him that had been made by them in the House. He was too desirous to give the Parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say unto him, and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place : which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from the time they had been a people : that though the extreme sufferings

they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders, yet they found by experience that no other government would so well fit the nation as that to which it had been accustomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his highness had taken, and which had been crowned even with miraculous success by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men that threatened the public peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form with which it was acquainted; and that it was love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it: that the name and title of a Protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject during the reign of an infant sovereign, and therefore that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights of any family, or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the nation was united and of one mind in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of it; but nobody could say that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old form of government, to which they were still most addicted: and therefore they besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation, which had got so much renown and glory under his conduct, that he would take that name and title which had ever presided over it, and by which as he would establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his fame and honour

more improved abroad, and that those very princes and kings, who out of admiration of his virtue and noble actions had contracted a reverence for his person and an impatient desire of his friendship, would look upon him with much more veneration when they saw him clothed with the same majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit, and would with much more alacrity renew the old alliances with England when they were renewed in the old form and under the old title, which would make them durable; since no foreign prince could presume to take upon him to judge of the right of succession, which had been frequently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line but upon deprivation and deposition, in such manner as was most for the good and benefit of the people; of which there was a fresh instance in their own eyes in the kingdom of Portugal, where the duke of Braganza, without any other title than the election of the people, assumed the crown and title of king from the King of Spain, who had enjoyed it quietly, and without interruption, during three descents; and he was acknowledged as sovereign of that kingdom by the late King, who received his ambassadors accordingly.

7. Cromwell's Agony and Refusal

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them for the pains they had taken, to which he would not take upon him to give a present answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and then he would send for them, and acquaint them with his resolution. And so they parted, all men standing at gaze and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what

he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. And there is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind he did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself or some friend with them, why they reserved themselves and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourse could be held but with one at once) was, that if he would make himself king they should easily know what they had to do, but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience which they were to pay to a Protector ; and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him, whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy that he might not be destroyed by him ; nor did he much consider those other officers of the army who in the House concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great ; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who he knew loved him, his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should with that virulence withstand this promotion grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured by all the ways he could to convert them. But they were all inexorable : and told him resolutely that they could do him no good if they should adhere to him, and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they

could against him, from the time he assumed that title.

It was reported that an officer of name, in the *éclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently that if ever he took the title of king upon him he would kill him. Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, that there were a number of men who bound themselves by oath to kill him within so many hours after he should accept that title. They who were very near him said that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation ; and that he then observed, that it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and should be " near " to be king ; which seemed to imply that he should be only *near*, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage did fail him ; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of Parliament to attend him ; and as his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses ; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensations, he concluded that he could not, with a good conscience, accept of the government under the title of a king.

Many were then of opinion that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration ; and that if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition ; that there were many officers

of the army who would not have left him, and who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person than from a Parliament or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in Parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident that he did very wisely to decline it, and that if he had accepted it he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him, which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably for some time from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are long deferred, they are commonly discovered, as appeared afterwards in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or to have influence upon any men. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so modelled and quartered his troops as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And it may be there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act

of Almight God towards the King's restoration; and many of the soberest men of the nation confessed, after the King's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness, which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted that he should enjoy the title and authority which he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another instrument, which they called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, and in which they granted him not only that authority for his life but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of and to declare his own successor: which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself.

8. Cromwell does somewhat for Himself

But now that they had performed all that he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself, and that all the discourses which

Almight, Almighty.

had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity as should make it very little inferior to the other. And therefore within few days after he sent a message to the Parliament that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be over; for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered, as if enough had been done already: and for which he appointed the six and twentieth of June, and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

On the day appointed West(minster) Hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of estate under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sate in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament, Wythrington, that this promotion might not be without any vote from the nobility, the Speaker, with the earl of Warwick and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines, the Speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and, lastly, presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being nothing wanting to a perfect formal coronation but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the Speaker, in these words :—

" I do, in the presence and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that to the uttermost of my power I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the utmost of my power and understanding, and encourage the profession and professors of the same ; and that to the utmost of my power I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety and just rights and privileges of the people thereof, and shall in all things, according to my best knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might well consider how to fill his other House with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his Parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. And in this vacancy his greatness seemed to be very much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He now sent for his eldest son Richard, who till this time had lived privately in the country, upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire, and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy councillor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Not-

withstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor, he by his discourse often implying that he would name such a successor as was in all respects equal to the office: and so men guessed at this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two daughters unmarried: and one of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and throughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. And there were many reasons to believe that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell, who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

9. The Miraculous Victory of Santa Cruz

THESE domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though

the French had no mind to apply their forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so marched to other places which they were to conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand English, under the command of Reynolds, attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline ; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had taken Mon(tm)edy the army marched into Flanders ; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work, and which, being reduced, would facilitate the other very much ; and that fort they took and delivered it into the hands of Reynolds, with an obligation that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year with the first attempt.

But that which made the noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Mountague and Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard ; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cadiz and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet ; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admirals concluded that, notwithstanding all they had (done) or could do to block up Cadiz, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement ; and

therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that if it were possible they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

And with this resolution they stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle moored along the shore, and the six great galleons (the fleet consisted of sixteen good ships), which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. And besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered by a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the generals saw in what posture the Spaniards lay, and thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, they resolved to burn them (which was by many thought to be equally impossible), and sent captain Staneere with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons, which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts and lesser breastworks with continual broadsides, to hinder their firing. And so the generals coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done, and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled

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them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again, but that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore, which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so (discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution), they set fire to every ship, galleons and others, and burned every one of them ; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship, out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place concluded that no sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever undertake it ; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done ; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief that they were devils, and not men, which had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action, no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the (Spanish) ships and on the shore was incredible.

10. The Death of Admiral Blake, and his Achievement

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake, who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the Sound of Plimmoth he expired. But he wanted no pomp when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be

brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed that they might be pompously buried, he was with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, in the monument of the kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction, yet left enough by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university where he took the degree of a master of arts, and was versed in books, for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having enough of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a better man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his morosity, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time and the power of the Court; and they who knew him inwardly discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles began, he quickly declared himself against the King; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hartford, and being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him upon his want of experience in war, and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there, and was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined, and

despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection, as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him only to make a noise and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved, and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage and bold and resolute achievement.

11. The Uncrowned King and his Parliament

After all this lustre and glory, in which the Protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the Parliament again together, and they did not re-assemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having called the other House, which by the petition was to be done, and having filled it

for the most part with officers of the army, and such other as he had good reason to be confident of. And so on the 20th of January, the day appointed to meet, whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him in the Painted Chamber when he had anything to say to them, now, he came to the House of Lords, where his new creations were ; and then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that House, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, began his speech in the old style, " My Lords, and you, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons " ; and then discoursed some particulars which he recommended to them, thanked them for their fair correspondence the last session, and assured them, if they would continue to prosecute his designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and generations to come should bless them.

A DISCOURSE BY WAY OF VISION CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF OLIVER CROMWELL

[Abraham Cowley, the posthumous son of a London stationer of good position, was born in 1618, and educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was acclaimed as the most precocious genius of his time. His reputation is not justified by his poems; but his prose was that of an accomplished innovator, and his best piece—the *Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell*—shows a strange union of intellectual and imaginative power. The style perfectly corresponds to this double aspect: the tones of the huge ironic demon who is at once the Protector and his dark angel, are balanced by poised and precise phrases which anticipate those of the classical age that was to follow. The piece forms the poetical counterpart of Clarendon's more sober summary: "In a word, as he (Cromwell) had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated: and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave, bad man." Cowley agrees perfectly with this opinion of Cromwell's great qualities and "extraordinary wickedness"; but he expresses it far more imaginatively in his picture of "the figure of a man, taller than a gyant, or indeed the shadow of any gyant in the evening" with eyes like burning brass, and three crowns of the same metal, red hot too, upon his head. The poet who wrote this lost the best years of his youth in the defeated King's service, or he would assuredly have done greater things.]

It was the funeral day of the late man who made himself to be called protector. And though I bore but little affection, either to the memory of him, or to the trouble and folly of all publick pageantry, yet I was forced by the importunity of my company to go along with them, and be a spectator of that solemnity,

the expectation of which had been so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious persons (and no doubt singular virtuosos) as far as from the Mount in Cornwal, and from the Orcades. I found there had been much more cost bestowed than either the dead man or indeed death itself could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants, among which, too, divers princes in the persons of their ambassadors (being infinitely afflicted for the loss of their brother) were pleased to attend; the herse was magnificent, the idol crowned, and (not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore by no means could be omitted here) the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that, methoughts, it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly a great show; and yet, after all this, but an ill sight. At last (for it seemed long to me, and, like his short reign, too, very tedious) the whole scene past by; and I retired back to my chamber, weary, and I think more melancholy than any of the mourners. Where I began to reflect on the whole life of this prodigious man: and sometimes I was filled with horrour and detestation of his actions, and sometimes I inclined a little to reverence and admiration of his courage, conduct, and success; till, by these different motions and agitations of mind, rocked, as it were, asleep, I fell at last into this vision; or if you please to call it but a dream, I shall not take it ill, because the father of poets tells us, even dreams, too, are from God.

But sure it was no dream; for I was suddainly transported afar off (whether in the body, or out of the body, like St. Paul, I know not) and found myself on the top of that famous hill in the island Mona,

which has the prospect of three great, and not long since most happy, kingdoms. As soon as ever I look'd on them, the *not-long-since* struck upon my memory, and called forth the sad representation of all the sins, and all the miseries, that had overwhelmed them these twenty years. And I wept bitterly for two or three hours; and, when my present stock of moisture was all wasted, I fell a sighing for an hour more.

I think, I should have gone (on), but that I was interrupted by a strange and terrible apparition; for there appeared to me (arising out of the earth, as I conceived) the figure of a man, taller than a gyant, or indeed the shadow of any gyant in the evening. His body was naked; but that nakedness adorn'd, or rather deform'd all over, with several figures, after the manner of the antient Britons, painted upon it: and I perceived that most of them were the representation of the battels in our civil wars, and (if I be not much mistaken) it was the battel of Naseby that was drawn upon his breast. His eyes were like burning brass; and there were three crowns of the same metal (as I guest), and that look'd as red-hot too, upon his head. He held in his right hand a sword, that was yet bloody, and nevertheless the motto of it was, *Pax quæritur bello;* and in his left hand a thick book, upon the back of which was written in letters of gold, Acts, Ordinances, Protestations, Covenants, Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, etc.

Though this sudden, unusual, and dreadful object might have quelled a greater courage than mine, yet so it pleased God (for there is nothing bolder than a man in a vision) that I was not at all daunted, but ask'd him resolutely and briefly, "What art thou?" And he said, "I am called the north-west principality, his highness the protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions belonging thereunto; for I am that angel,

to whom the Almighty has committed the government of those three kingdoms, which thou seest from this place." And I answered and said, " If it be so, Sir, it seems to me that for almost these twenty years past, your highness has been absent from your charge: for not only if any angel, but if any wise and honest man had since that time been our governor, we should not have wandred thus long in these laborious and endless labyrinths of confusion, but either not have entred at all into them, or at least have returned back e'r we had absolutely lost our way ; but, instead of your highness, we have had since such a protector as was his predecessor Richard the Third to the king his nephew ; for he presently slew the commonwealth, which he pretended to protect, and set up himself in the place of it : a little less guilty, indeed, in one respect, because the other slew an innocent, and this man did but murder a murderer. Such a protector we have had, as we would have been glad to have changed for an enemy, and rather receive a constant Turk, than this every month's apostate ; such a protector, as man is to his flocks, which he shears, and sells, or devours himself ; and I would fain know, what the wolf, which he protects them from, could do more? Such a protector—" and as I was proceeding, methought his highness began to put on a displeased and threatning countenance, as men use to do when their dearest friends happen to be traduced in their company ; which gave me the first rise of jealousie against him, for I did not believe that Cromwel, among all his forreign correspondences, had ever held any with angels. However, I was not hardn'd enough to venture a quarrel with him then ; and therefore (as if I had spoken to the protector himself in Whitehal) I desired him " that his highness would please to pardon me, if I had unwittingly spoken any thing to the disparagement of a person, whose relations to his highness I had not the honour to know."

At which he told me, "that he had no other concernment for his late highness, than as he took him to be the greatest man that ever was of the English nation, if not (said he) of the whole world; which gives me a just title to the defence of his reputation, since I now account myself, as it were, a naturalized English angel, by having had so long the management of the affairs of that countrey. And pray, countreyman (said he, very kindly and very flatteringly), for I would not have you fall into the general error of the world, that detests and decries so extraordinary a virtue, what can be more extraordinary, than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in, so improbable a design, as the destruction of one of the most antient and most solidly founded monarchies upon the earth? That he should have the power or boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death; to banish that numerous and strongly-allied family; to do all this under the name and wages of a parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased, and spurn them out of doors, when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and set up himself above all things that ever were called soveraign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice; to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal felicity both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north; to be feared and courted by all forreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth; to call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to

be humbly and daily petitioned that he would please to be hired, at the rate of two millions a year, to be master of those who had hired him before to be their servant; to have the estates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and lastly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory) to bequeath all this with one word to his posterity; to dye with peace at home, and triumph abroad; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguished but with the whole world; which, as it is now too little for his praises, so might have been too for his conquests, if the short line of his humane life could have been stretcht out to the extent of his immortal designs?"

By this speech, I began to understand perfectly well what kind of angel his pretended highness was; and having fortified myself privately with a short mental prayer, and with the sign of the cross (not out of any superstition to the sign, but as a recognition of my baptism in Christ), I grew a little bolder, and replyed in this manner: "I should not venture to oppose what you are pleased to say in commendation of the late great, and (I confess) extraordinary person, but that I remember Christ forbids us to give assent to any other doctrine but what himself has taught us, even though it should be delivered by an angel; and if such you be, Sir, it may be you have spoken all this rather to try than to tempt my frailty, for sure I am, that we must renounce or forget all the laws of the New and Old Testament, and those which are the foundation of both, even the laws of moral and natural honesty, if we approve of the actions of that man whom I suppose you commend by irony.

"There would be no end to instance in the particulars of all his wickedness: but to sum up a part of it

briefly: What can be more extraordinarily wicked, than for a person, such as yourself qualifie him rightly, to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon, all his equals and betters? To pretend freedom for all men, and under the help of that pretence to make all men his servants? To take arms against taxes of scarce two hundred thousand pounds a year, and to raise them himself to above two millions? To quarrel for the loss of three or four ears, and strike off three or four hundred heads? To fight against an imaginary suspicion of I know not what two thousand guards to be fetcht for the king, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no less than forty thousand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all even of his own calling, and almost choosing? To undertake the reformation of religion, to rob it even to the very skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of all sects and heresies? To set up councils of rapine, and courts of murder? To fight against the king under a commission for him? To take him forcibly out of the hands of those for whom he had conquer'd him? To draw him into his net, with protestations and vows of fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him, with as little shame as conscience or humanity, in the open face of the whole world? To receive a commission for king and parliament, to murder (as I said) the one, and destroy no less impudently the other? To fight against monarchy when he declared for it, and declare against it when he contrived for it in his own person? To abuse perfidiously and supplant ingratefully his own general first, and afterwards most of those officers, who, with the loss of their honour, and hazard of their souls, had lifted him up to the top of his unreasonable ambitions? To break his faith with all enemies and with all friends equally, and to make no less frequent use of the most solemn perjuries, than the looser sort of people do of

customary oaths? To usurp three kingdoms without any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them? To set himself up as an idol (which we know, as St. Paul says, in itself is nothing), and make the very streets of London like the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice to his Molochship? To seek to entail this usurpation upon his posterity, and with it an endless war upon the nation? And lastly, by the severest judgment of Almighty God, to die hardned, and mad, and unrepentant, with the curses of the present age, and the detestation of all to succeed?"

Though I had much more to say (for the life of man is so short, that it allows not time enough to speak against a tyrant) yet because I had a mind to hear how my strange adversary would behave himself upon this subject, and to give even the devil (as they say) his right, and fair play in disputation, I stopt here, and expected (not without the frailty of a little fear) that he should have broke into a violent passion in behalf of his favourite: but he on the contrary very calmly, and with the dove-like innocency of a serpent that was not yet warm'd enough to sting, thus reply'd to me:

"It is not so much out of my affection to that person whom we discourse of (whose greatness is too solid to be shaken by the breath of any oratory), as for your own sake (honest countryman), whom I conceive to err rather by mistake than out of malice, that I shall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjust opinion. And, in the first place, I must needs put you in mind of a sentence of the most antient of the heathen divines, that you men are acquainted withal,

Οὐχ ὅσιον καμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν ἐυχετάασθαι.

''Tis wicked with insulting feet to tread
Upon the monuments of the dead.'

And the intention of the reproof there is no less proper for this subject; for it is spoken to a person who was

proud and insolent against those dead men, to whom he had been humble and obedient whilst they lived."

"Your highness may please (said I) to add the verse that follows, as no less proper for this subject :

'Whom God's just doom and their own sins have sent
Already to their punishment.'

"But I take this to be the rule in the case, that, when we fix any infamy upon deceased persons, it should not be done out of hatred to the dead, but out of love and charity to the living : that the curses, which only remain in men's thoughts, and dare not come forth against tyrants (because they are tyrants) whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their memories, to deter all others from the like wickedness ; which else, in the time of their foolish prosperity, the flattery of their own hearts and of other men's tongues would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition is so subtil a tempter, and the corruption of humane nature so susceptible of the temptation, that a man can hardly resist it, be he never so much forewarn'd of the evil consequences ; much less if he find not only the concurrence of the present, but the approbation too of following ages, which have the liberty to judge more freely. The mischief of tyranny is too great, even in the shortest time that it can continue ; it is endless and insupportable, if the example be to reign too, and if a Lambert must be invited to follow the steps of a Cromwel, as well by the voice of honour, as by the sight of power and riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the Syracusians, to implead with the forms of their ordinary justice, to condemn and destroy even the statutes of all their tyrants : if it were possible to cut them out of all history, and to extinguish their very names, I am of opinion that it ought to be done ; but, since they have left behind

them too deep wounds to be ever closed up without a scar, at least let us set such a mark upon their memory, that men of the same wicked inclinations may be no less affrighted with their lasting ignominy, than enticed by their momentary glories. And that your highness may perceive, that I speak not all this out of any private animosity against the person of that late protector, I assure you upon my faith, that I bear no more hatred to his name, than I do to that of Marius or Sylla, who never did me, or any friend of mine, the least injury."

"I call him (said I) a tyrant, who either intrudes himself forcibly into the government of his fellow citizens without any legal authority over them; or who, having a just title to the government of a people, abuses it to the destruction, or tormenting, of them. So that all tyrants are at the same time usurpers, either of the whole, or at least of a part, of that power which they assume to themselves; and no less are they to be accounted rebels, since no man can usurp authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those laws which were his superiors: and in all these senses, no history can afford us a more evident example of tyranny, or more out of all possibility of excuse, or palliation, than that of the person whom you are pleased to defend; whether we consider his reiterated rebellions against all his superiors, or his usurpation of the supreme power to himself, or his tyranny in the exercise of it: and, if lawful princes have been esteemed tyrants, by not containing themselves within the bounds of those laws which have been left them as the sphere of their authority by their forefathers, what shall we say of that man, who, having by right no power at all in this nation, could not content himself with that which had satisfied the most ambitious of our princes? nay, not with those vastly extended limits of soveraignty,

which he (disdaining all that had been prescribed and observed before) was pleased (out of great modesty) to set to himself; not abstaining from rebellion and usurpation even against his own laws, as well as those of the nation?"

"Hold, friend, said his highness, pulling me by my arm, for I see your zeal is transporting you again; whether the protector were a tyrant in the exorbitant exercise of his power, we shall see anon; it is requisite to examine, first, whether he were so in the usurpation of it. And I say, that not only he, but no man else, ever was, or can be so; and that for these reasons. First, because all power belongs only to God, who is the source and fountain of it, as kings are of all honours in their dominions. Princes are but his viceroys in the little provinces of this world; and to some he gives their places for a few years, to some for their lives, and to others (upon ends or deserts best known to himself, or meerly for his indisputable good pleasure) he bestows, as it were, leases upon them and their posterity, for such a date of time as is prefixt in that patent of their destiny, which is not legible to you men below. Neither is it more unlawful for Oliver to succeed Charles in the kingdom of England, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the Lord Strafford in his lieutenancy of Ireland, if he had been appointed to it by the king then reigning. Men are in both the cases obliged to obey him, whom they see actually invested with the authority by that sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the causes, either of the removal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, because all power is attained, either by the election and consent of the people, and that takes away your objection of forcible intrusion; or else, by a conquest of them, and that gives such a legal authority as you mention to be wanting in the usurpation of a tyrant; so that either this title is right, and

then there are no usurpers, or else it is a wrong one, and then there are none else but usurpers, if you examine the original pretences of the princes of the world. Thirdly (which, quitting the dispute in general, is a particular justification of his highness) the government of England was totally broken and dissolved, and extinguisht by the confusions of a civil war ; so that his highness could not be accused to have possest himself violently of the antient building of the commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the ruines and ashes of the former ; and he who, after a deplorable shipwrack, can with extraordinary industry gather together the disperst and broken planks and pieces of it, and with no less wonderful art and felicity so rejoyn them as to make a new vessel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deserves, no doubt, to have the command of her (even as his highness had by the desire of the seamen and passengers themselves). And do but consider, lastly (for I omit a multitude of weighty things, that might be spoken upon this noble argument), do but consider seriously and impartially with yourself, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage, must of necessity have concurred in the person of that man, who from so contemptible beginnings (as I observed before) and through so many thousand difficulties, was able not only to make himself the greatest and most absolute monarch of this nation ; but to add to it the entire conquest of Ireland and Scotland (which the whole force of the world, joyned with the Roman virtue, could never attain to), and to crown all this with illustrious and heroical undertakings and success upon all our forreign enemies : do but (I say again) consider this, and you will confess, that his prodigious merits were a better title to imperial dignity, than the blood of an hundred royal progenitors ; and will rather lament that he had lived not to overcome more nations,

than envy him the conquest and dominion of these."

"Whoever you are (said I, my indignation making me somewhat bolder), your discourse (methinks) becomes as little the person of a tutelar angel, as Cromwel's actions did that of a protector. It is upon these principles, that all the great crimes of the world have been committed, and most particularly those which I have had the misfortune to see in my own time, and in my own country. If these be to be allowed, we must break up human society, retire into the woods, and equally there stand upon our guards against our brethren mankind, and our rebels the wild beasts. For if there can be no usurpation upon the rights of a whole nation, there can be none most certainly upon those of a private person; and, if the robbers of countries be God's vicegerents, there is no doubt but the thieves and banditos, and murderers, are his under officers. It is true which you say, that God is the source and fountain of all power; and it is no less true, that he is the creator of serpents as well as angels; nor does his goodness fail of its ends, even in the malice of his own creatures. What power he suffers the devil to exercise in this world is too apparent by our daily experience; and by nothing more than the late monstrous iniquities which you dispute for, and patronize in England: but would you inferr from thence, that the power of the devil is a just and lawful one; and that all men ought, as well as most men do, obey him? God is the fountain of all powers; but some flow from the right hand (as it were) of his goodness, and others from the left hand of his justice; and the world, like an island between these two rivers, is sometimes refresht and nourisht by the one, and sometimes over-run and ruin'd by the other; and (to continue a little farther the allegory) we are never overwhelm'd with the latter, till, either by our malice or negligence, we have stopt and damm'd up the former."

Here I stopt ; and my pretended protector, who, I expected, should have been very angry, fell a laughing ; it seems at the simplicity of my discourse, for thus he replyed : " You seem to pretend extreamly to the old obsolete rules of virtue and conscience, which makes me doubt very much, whether, from the vast prospect of three kingdoms, you can shew me any acres of your own. But these are so far from making you a prince, that I am afraid your friends will never have the contentment to see you so much as a justice of peace in your own country. For this I perceive which you call virtue, is nothing else but either the frowardness of a Cynick, or the laziness of an Epicurean. I am glad you allow me at least artful dissimulation, and unwearied diligence in my heroe ; and I assure you, that he, whose life is constantly drawn by those two, shall never be misled out of the way of greatness. But I see you are a pedant, and Platonical statesman, a theoretical commonwealth's-man, an Utopian dreamer. Was ever riches gotten by your golden mediocrities ? or the supream place attained to by virtues that must not stir out of the middle ? Do you study Aristotle's politicks, and write, if you please, comments upon them ; and let another but practise Machiaval : and let us see, then, which of you two will come to the greatest preferments. If the desire of rule and superiority be a virtue (as sure I am it is more imprinted in human nature than any of your lethargical morals) ; and what is the virtue of any creature, but the exercise of those powers and inclinations which God hath infused into it ? If that (I say) be virtue, we ought not to esteem any thing vice, which is the most proper, if not the only, means of attaining of it."

He would have gone on, I perceive, in his blasphemies, but that, by God's grace, I became so bold as thus to interrupt him : " I understand now perfectly (which I guest at long before) what kind of angel

and protector you are; and, though your style in verse be very much mended since you were wont to deliver oracles, yet your doctrine is much worse than ever you had formerly (that I heard of) the face to publish; whether your long practice with mankind has increas'd and improv'd your malice, or whether you think us in this age to be grown so impudently wicked, that there needs no more art or disguises to draw us to your party."

"My dominion (said he hastily, and with a dreadful furious look) is so great in this world, and I am so powerful a monarch of it, that I need not be ashamed that you should know me; and that you may see I know you too, I know you to be an obstinate and inveterate malignant; and for that reason I shall take you along with me to the next garrison of ours; from whence you shall go to the Tower, and from thence to the court of justice, and from thence you know whither." I was almost in the very pounces of the great bird of prey:

"When, lo, ere the last words were fully spoke,
From a fair cloud, which rather ope'd than broke,
A flash of light, rather than lightning, came,
So swift and yet so gentle was the flame.
Upon it rode, and, in his full career,
Seem'd to my eyes no sooner there, than here,
The comeliest youth of all th'angelick race;
Lovely his shape, ineffable his face.

In his fair hand (what need was there of more?)
No arms, but th'English bloody cross, he bore,
Which when he towards th'affrighted tyrant bent,
And some few words pronounc'd (but what they
meant,
Or were, could not, alas, by me be known,
Only, I well perceiv'd, Jesus was one)
He trembled, and he roar'd, and fled away;
Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for prey."

AN UNJUST WAR AND WHAT FOLLOWED IT

[François Rabelais, born in Touraine about 1495, published in 1535 (under the anagram Alcofribas Nasier) the first part of the great spectacle of human life by which he lives to the end of time; perhaps (as Coleridge thought) the only creator of literature who can be ranked with Dante, Shakespeare, and Cervantes. His *Gargantua* (and the first part of *Pantagruel*) was translated into English, and published in 1653, by Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. This eccentric gentleman was educated at Aberdeen, travelled and collected books in France, Spain, and Italy, fought for King Charles, was taken prisoner at Worcester, released on parole by Cromwell, and died in London shortly after the publication of his book. He was born to translate Rabelais, and though his style is necessarily dominated by that of his original, it is of importance in the history of our literature for that very reason. He handed on to us an old and unique tradition, both of thought and method, and so laid for his countrymen one of the great corner-stones of the palace of the mind: for without Rabelais no mind is well housed. The letter of Gargantua, from Rabelais's second book, *Pantagruel*, sets forth the educational ideal of the Renaissance in a perfect form. It should be compared with Milton's letter on the same subject to Samuel Hartlieb, printed in *Noble English*, Vol. II.]

I

The tenor of the Letter which Grangousier wrote to his son Gargantua at the University of Paris.

"THE fervency of thy studies did require that I should not in a long time recall thee from that philosophical rest thou now enjoyest, if the confidence re-

Grangousier, King of Utopia.

posed in our friends and ancient confederates had not at this present disappointed the assurance of my old age. But seeing such is my fatal destiny, that I should be now disquieted by those in whom I trusted most, I am forced to call thee back to help the people and goods, which by the right of nature belong unto thee. For even as arms are weak abroad, if there be not counsel at home, so is that study vain, and counsel unprofitable, which in a due and convenient time is not by virtue executed and put in effect. My deliberation is not to provoke, but to appease—not to assault, but to defend—not to conquer, but to preserve my faithful subjects and hereditary dominions, into which Picrochole is entered in a hostile manner without any ground or cause, and from day to day pursueth his furious enterprise with that height of insolence that is intolerable to free-born spirits. I have endeavoured to moderate his tyrannical choler, offering him all that which I thought might give him satisfaction; and oftentimes have I sent lovingly unto him, to understand wherein, by whom, and how he found himself to be wronged. But of him could I obtain no other answer, but a mere defiance, and that in my lands he did pretend only to the right of a civil correspondency and good behaviour, whereby I knew that the eternal God hath left him to the disposure of his own free-will and sensual appetite—which cannot choose but be wicked, if by divine grace it be not continually guided—and to contain him within his duty, and to bring him to know himself, hath sent him hither to me by a grievous token. Therefore, my beloved son, as soon as thou canst, upon sight of these letters, repair hither with all diligence, to succour not me so much, which nevertheless by natural piety thou oughtest to do, as thine own people, which by reason thou mayest save and preserve. The exploit shall be done with as little

effusion of blood as may be. And, if possible, by means far more expedient, such as military policy, devices and stratagems of war, we shall save all the souls, and send them home as merry as crickets unto their own houses. My dearest son, the peace of Jesus Christ our Redeemer be with thee. Salute from me Ponocrates, Gymnastes, and Eudemon. The twentieth of September.

" Thy Father,

" GRANGOUSIER."

II

How Gargantua set upon Picrochole within the Rock Clermond, and utterly defeated the Army of the said Picrochole.

Gargantua had the charge of the whole army, and his father Grangousier stayed in his castle, who, encouraging them with good words, promised great rewards unto those that should do any notable service. Having thus set forward, as soon as they had gained the pass at the ford of Vede, with boats and bridges speedily made, they passed over in a trice. Then considering the situation of the town, which was on a high and advantageous place, Gargantua thought fit to call his council and pass that night in deliberation upon what was to be done. But Gymnast said unto him, " My sovereign lord, such is the nature and complexion of the French, that they are worth nothing but at the first push. Then they are more fierce than devils. But if they linger a little, and be wearied with delays, they will prove more faint and remiss than women. My opinion is, therefore, that now presently after your men have taken breath, and some small refection, you give order for a resolute assault, and that we storm them instantly." His advice was

found very good, and for effectuating thereof he brought forth his army into the plain field, and placed the reserves on the skirt or rising of a little hill. The monk took along with him six companies of foot, and two hundred horsemen well armed, and with great diligence crossed the marsh, and valiantly got upon the top of the green hillock even unto the highway which leads to Loudun. Whilst the assault was thus begun, Picrochole's men could not tell what was best, to issue out and receive the assailants, or keep within the town and not to stir. Himself in the meantime, without deliberation, sallied forth in a rage with the cavalry of his guard, who were forthwith received and royally entertained with great cannon-shot, that fell upon them like hail from the high grounds, on which the artillery was planted. For which purpose the Gargantuists betook themselves unto the valleys, to give the ordnance leave to play and range with the larger scope.

Those of the town defended themselves as well as they could, but their shot passed over without doing any hurt at all. Some of Picrochole's men, that had escaped our artillery, set most fiercely upon our soldiers, but prevailed little; for they were all let in betwixt the files, and there knocked down to the ground, which their fellow-soldiers seeing, they would have retreated, but the monk having seized upon the pass, by which they were to return, they ran away and fled in all the disorder and confusion that could be imagined.

Some would have pursued after them, and followed the chase, but the monk withheld them, apprehending that in their pursuit the pursuers might lose their ranks, and so give occasion to the besieged to sally out of the town upon them. Then staying there some space, and none coming against him, he sent the Duke Phrontist, to advise Gargantua to advance towards the hill upon the left hand, to hinder Picrochole's

retreat at that gate; which Gargantua did with all expedition, and sent thither four brigades under the conduct of Sebast, which had no sooner reached the top of the hill but they met Picrochole in the teeth, and those that were with him scattered.

Then charged they upon them stoutly, yet were they much endamaged by those that were upon the walls, who galled them with all manner of shot, both from the great ordnance, small guns, and bows. Which Gargantua perceiving, he went with a strong party to their relief, and with his artillery began to thunder so terribly upon that canton of the wall, and so long, that all the strength within the town, to maintain and fill up the breach, was drawn thither. The monk, seeing that quarter which he kept besieged void of men and competent guards, and in a manner altogether naked and abandoned, did most magnanimously on a sudden lead up his men towards the fort, and never left it till he had got up upon it, knowing that such as come to the reserve in a conflict bring with them always more fear and terror, than those that deal about them with their hands in the fight.

Nevertheless he gave no alarm till all his soldiers had got within the wall, except the two hundred horsemen, whom he left without to secure his entry. Then did he give a most horrible shout, so did all those who were with him, and immediately thereafter, without resistance, putting to the edge of the sword the guard that was at that gate, they opened it to the horsemen, with whom most furiously they altogether ran towards the east gate, where all the hurly-burly was, and coming close upon them in the rear, overthrew all their forces.

The besieged, seeing that the Gargantuists had won the town upon them, and that they were like to be secure in no corner of it, submitted themselves unto the mercy of the monk, and asked for quarter, which the monk very nobly granted to them, yet made them

lay down their arms ; then, shutting them up within churches, gave orders to seize upon all the staves of the crosses, and placed men at the doors to keep them from coming forth. Then, opening the east gate, he issued out to succour and assist Gargantua. But Picrochole, thinking it had been some relief coming to him from the town, adventured more forwardly than before, and was upon the giving of a most desperate home-charge, when Gargantua cried out, " Ha, Friar John, my friend, Friar John, you are come in a good hour." Which unexpected accident so affrighted Picrochole and his men, that, giving all for lost, they betook themselves to their heels, and fled on all hands. Gargantua chased them till they came near to Vaugaudry, killing and slaying all the way, and then sounded the retreat.

III

How Picrochole in his flight fell into great Misfortunes, and what Gargantua did after the Battle.

Picrochole, thus in despair, fled towards the Bouchard Island, and in the way to Riviers his horse stumbled and fell down, whereat he on a sudden was so incensed, that he with his sword without more ado killed him in his choler ; then, not finding any that would remount him, he was about to have taken an ass at the mill that was thereby ; but the miller's men did so baste his bones, and so soundly bethwack him, that they made him both black and blue with strokes ; then, stripping him of all his clothes, gave him a scurvy old canvas jacket wherewith to cover his nakedness. Thus went this poor choleric wretch, who passing the water at Port-Huaux, and relating his misadventurous disasters, was foretold by an old

Lourpidon hag, that his kingdom should be restored to him at the coming of the Cocklicranes. What is become of him since we cannot certainly tell, yet was I told that he is now a porter at Lyons, as testy and pettish in humour as ever he was before, and would be always, with great lamentation, inquiring at all strangers of the coming of the Cocklicranes, expecting assuredly, according to the old woman's prophecy, that at their coming he shall be re-established in his kingdom. The first thing Gargantua did after his return into the town was to call the muster-roll of his men, which when he had done he found that there were very few either killed or wounded, only some few foot of Captain Tolmere's company, and Ponocrates, who was shot with a musket-ball through the doublet. Then he caused them all at and in their several posts and divisions to take a little refreshment, which was very plenteously provided for them in the best drink and victuals that could be had for money, and gave order to the treasurers and commissaries of the army to pay for and defray that repast, and that there should be no outrage at all, nor abuse committed in the town, seeing it was his own. And furthermore commanded, that immediately after the soldiers had done with eating and drinking for that time sufficiently, and to their own hearts' desire, a gathering should be beaten, for bringing them altogether, to be drawn upon the piazza before the castle, there to receive six months' pay completely. All which was done. After this, by his direction, were brought before him in the said place all those that remained of Picrochole's party, unto whom, in the presence of the princes, nobles, and officers of his court and army, he spoke as followeth.

IV

Gargantua's Speech to the Vanquished.

" Our forefathers and ancestors of all times have been of this nature and disposition, that, upon the winning of a battle, they have chosen rather, for a sign and memorial of their triumphs and victories, to erect trophies and monuments in the hearts of the vanquished by clemency, than by architecture in the lands which they had conquered. For they did hold in greater estimation the lively remembrance of men, purchased by liberality, than the dumb inscription of arches, pillars, and pyramids, subject to the injury of storms and tempests, and to the envy of every one. You may very well remember of the courtesy, which by them was used towards the Bretons, in the battle of St. Aubin of Cormier, and at the demolishing of Partenay. You have heard, and hearing admire, their gentle comportment towards those at the barriers of Spaniola, who had plundered, wasted, and ransacked the maritime borders of Olone and Thalmondois. All this hemisphere of the world was filled with the praises and congratulations which yourselves and your fathers made, when Alpharbal, King of Canarre, not satisfied with his own fortunes, did most furiously invade the land of Onyx, and with cruel piracies molest all the Armorick Islands, and confine regions of Britany. Yet was he in a set naval fight justly taken and vanquished by my father, whom God preserve and protect. But what? Whereas other kings and emperors, yea, those who entitle themselves Catholics, would have dealt roughly with him, kept him a close prisoner, and put him to an extreme high ransom, he entreated him very courteously, lodged him kindly with himself in his own

palace, and out of his incredible mildness and gentle disposition sent him back with a safe conduct, laden with gifts, laden with favours, laden with all offices of friendship. What fell out upon it? Being returned into his country, he called a parliament, where all the princes and states of his kingdom being assembled, he showed them the humanity which he had found in us, and therefore wished them to take such course by way of compensation therein, as that the whole world might be edified by the example, as well of their honest graciousness to us, as of our gracious honesty towards them. The result hereof was, that it was voted and decreed by an unanimous consent, that they should offer up entirely their lands, dominions, and kingdoms, to be disposed of by us according to our pleasure.

"Alpharbal in his own person presently returned with nine thousand and thirty-eight great ships of burden, bringing with him the treasures, not only of his house and royal lineage, but almost of all the country besides. For he embarking himself to set sail with a west-north-east wind, every one in heaps did cast into the ship gold, silver, rings, jewels, spices, drugs, and aromatical perfumes, parrots, pelicans, monkeys, civet-cats, black-spotted weasels, porcupines, etc. He was accounted no good mother's son, that did not cast in all the rare and precious things he had.

"Being safely arrived, he came to my said father, and would have kissed his feet. That action was found too submissively low, and therefore was not permitted, but in exchange he was most cordially embraced. He offered his presents; they were not received, because they were too excessive: he yielded himself voluntarily a servant and vassal, and was content his whole posterity should be liable to the same bondage; this was not accepted of, because it seemed not equitable: he surrendered, by virtue of

the decree of his great parliamentary council, his whole countries and kingdoms to him, offering the deed and conveyance, signed, sealed, and ratified by those that were concerned in it; this was altogether refused, and the parchments cast into the fire. In end, this free good-will and simple meaning of the Canarrines wrought such tenderness in my father's heart, that he could not abstain from shedding tears, and wept most profusely; then, by choice words very congruously adapted, strove in what he could to diminish the estimation of the good offices which he had done them, saying, that any courtesy he had conferred upon them was not worth a rush, and what favour soever he had showed them, he was bound to do it. But so much the more did Alpharbal augment the repute thereof. What was the issue? Whereas for his ransom in the greatest extremity of rigour, and most tyrannical dealing, could not have been exacted above twenty times a hundred thousand crowns, and his eldest sons detained as hostages, till that sum had been paid, they made themselves perpetual tributaries, and obliged to give us every year two millions of gold at four and twenty carats fine. The first year we received the whole sum of two millions; the second year of their own accord they paid freely to us three and twenty hundred thousand crowns; the third year, six and twenty hundred thousand; the fourth year, three millions, and do so increase it always out of their own goodwill, that we shall be constrained to forbid them to bring us any more. This is the nature of gratitude and true thankfulness. For time, which gnaws and diminisheth all things else, augments and increaseth benefits; because a noble action of liberality, done to a man of reason, doth grow continually, by his generous thinking of it, and remembering it.

"Being unwilling therefore any way to degenerate from the hereditary mildness and clemency of my

parents, I do now forgive you, deliver you from all fines and imprisonments, fully release you, set you at liberty, and every way make you as frank and free as ever you were before. Moreover, at your going out of the gate, you shall have every one of you three months' pay to bring you home into your houses and families, and shall have a safe convoy of six hundred cuirassiers and eight thousand foot under the conduct of Alexander, esquire of my body, that the clubmen of the country may not do you any injury. God be with you! I am sorry from my heart that Picrochole is not here; for I would have given him to understand that this war was undertaken against my will, and without any hope to increase either my goods or renown. But seeing he is lost, and that no man can tell where, nor how he went away, it is my will that this kingdom remain entire to his son; who, because he is too young, he not being yet full five years old, shall be brought up and instructed by the ancient princes, and learned men of the kingdom. And because a realm, thus desolate, may easily come to ruin, if the covetousness and avarice of those, who by their places are obliged to administer justice in it, be not curbed and restrained, I ordain and will have it so, that Ponocrates be overseer and superintendent above all his governors, with whatever power and authority is requisite thereto, and that he be continually with the child, until he find him able and capable to rule and govern by himself.

"Now I must tell you that you are to understand how a too feeble and dissolute facility in pardoning evil-doers giveth them occasion to commit wickedness afterwards more readily, upon this pernicious confidence of receiving favour. I consider, that Moses, the meekest man that was in his time upon the earth, did severely punish the mutinous and seditious people of Israel. I consider likewise, that Julius Cæsar, who was so gracious an emperor, that Cicero said of him,

that his fortune had nothing more excellent than that he could, and his virtue nothing better, than that he would always save and pardon every man; he, notwithstanding all this, did in certain places most rigorously punish the authors of rebellion. After the example of these good men, it is my will and pleasure, that you deliver over unto me, before you depart hence, first, that fine fellow, Marquet, who was the prime cause, origin, and groundwork of this war, by his vain presumption and overweening: secondly, his fellow cake-bakers, who were neglective in checking and reprehending his idle hare-brained humour in the instant time: and, lastly, all the counsellors, captains, officers, and domestics of Picrochole, who have been incendiaries or fomenters of the war, by provoking, praising, or counselling him to come out of his limits thus to trouble us."

V

How the victorious Gargantuists were recompensed after the Battle.

When Gargantua had finished his speech, the seditious men whom he required were delivered up unto him, except Swashbuckler, Durtaille, and Smalltrash, who ran away six hours before the battle—one of them as far as to Lainielneck at one course, another to the valley of Vire, and the third even unto Logroine, without looking back, or taking breath by the way—and two of the cake-bakers who were slain in the fight. Gargantua did them no other hurt, but that he appointed them to pull at the presses of his printing-house, which he had newly set up. Then those who died there he caused to be honourably buried in Blacksoille-valley, and Burn-hag-field, and gave order that the wounded should be dressed and

had care of in his great hospital or nosocome. After this, considering the great prejudice done to the town and its inhabitants, he reimbursed their charges, and repaired all the losses that by their confession upon oath could appear they had sustained ; and, for their better defence and security in times coming against all sudden uproars and invasions, commanded a strong citadel to be built there with a competent garrison to maintain it. At his departure he did very graciously thank all the soldiers of the brigades that had been at this overthrow, and sent them back to their winter-quarters in their several stations and garrisons ; the decumane legion only excepted, whom in the field on that day he saw do some great exploit, and their captains also, whom he brought along with himself unto Grangousier.

At the sight and coming of them, the good man was so joyful, that it is not possible fully to describe it. He made them a feast the most magnificent, plentiful, and delicious that ever was seen since the time of the King Ahasuerus. At the taking up of the table he distributed amongst them his whole cupboard of plate, which weighed eight hundred thousand and fourteen besants of gold, in great antique vessels, huge pots, large basins, big tasses, cups, goblets, candlesticks, comfit-boxes, and other such plate, all of pure massy gold besides the precious stones, enamelling, and workmanship, which by all men's estimation was more worth than the matter of the gold. Then unto every one of them out of his coffers caused he to be given the sum of twelve hundred thousand crowns ready money. And, further, he gave to each of them for ever and in perpetuity, unless he should happen to decease without heirs, such castles and neighbouring lands of his as were most commodious for them. To Ponocrates he gave the rock Clermond ; to Gymnast, the Coudray ; to Eudemon, Monpensier ; Rivau, to Tolmere ; to Ithibolle, Montsaureau ; to Acamas,

Cande; Varenes, to Chironacte; Gravot, to Sebaste; Quinquenais, to Alexander; Ligre, to Sophrone, and so of his other places.

VI

How Gargantua caused to be built for the Monk the Abbey of Theleme.

There was left only the monk to provide for, whom Gargantua would have made Abbot of Seville, but he refused it. He would have given him the Abbey of Bourgueil, or of Sanct Florent, which was better, or both, if it pleased him; but the monk gave him a very peremptory answer, that he would never take upon him the charge nor government of monks. "For how shall I be able," said he, "to rule over others, that have not full power and command of myself? If you think I have done you, or may hereafter do you any acceptable service, give me leave to found an abbey after my own mind and fancy." The motion pleased Gargantua very well, who thereupon offered him all the country of Theleme by the River of Loire, till within two leagues of the great forest of Port-Huault. The monk then requested Gargantua to institute his religious order contrary to all others. "First then," said Gargantua, "you must not build a wall about your convent, for all other abbeys are strongly walled and mured about." "See," said the monk, "and not without cause, where there is mur before, and mur behind, there is store of murmur, envy, and mutual conspiracy." Moreover, seeing there are certain convents in the world, whereof the custom is, if any women come in, I mean chaste and honest women, they immediately sweep the ground which they have trod upon; therefore was it ordained, that if any man or woman, entered into religious

orders, should by chance come within this new abbey, all the rooms should be thoroughly washed and cleansed through which they had passed. And because in all other monasteries and nunneries all is compassed, limited, and regulated by hours, it was decreed that in this new structure there should be neither clock nor dial, but that according to the opportunities, and incident occasions, all their hours should be disposed of; for, said Gargantua, the greatest loss of time that I know is to count the hours. What good comes of it? Nor can there be any greater dotage in the world than for one to guide and direct his course by the sound of a bell, and not by his own judgment and discretion.

Item, Because at that time they put no women into nunneries, but such as were either purblind, blinkards, lame, crooked, ill-favoured, mis-shapen, fools, senseless, spoiled, or corrupt; nor encloistered any men, but those that were either sickly, subject to defluxions, ill-bred louts, simple sots, or peevish trouble-houses: "But to the purpose," said the monk. "A woman that is neither fair nor good, to what use serves she?" "To make a nun of," said Gargantua. "Yea," said the monk, "to make shirts and smocks." Therefore was it ordained, that into this religious order should be admitted no women that were not fair, well-featured, and of a sweet disposition; nor men that were not comely, personable, and well-conditioned.

Item, Because in the convents of women, men come not but underhand, privily, and by stealth; it was therefore enacted that in this house there shall be no women in case there be not men, nor men in case there be not women.

Item, Because both men and women, that are received into religious orders after the expiring of their noviciat or probation year, were constrained and forced perpetually to stay there all the days of their life; it was therefore ordered, that all whatever, men

or women, admitted within this abbey, should have full leave to depart with peace and contentment, whensoever it should seem good to them so to do.

Item, For that the religious men and women did ordinarily make three vows, to wit, those of chastity, poverty, and obedience ; it was therefore constituted and appointed that in this convent they might be honourably married, that they might be rich, and live at liberty. In regard of the legitimate time of the persons to be initiated, and years under and above which they were not capable of reception, the women were to be admitted from ten till fifteen, and the men from twelve till eighteen.

VII

How the Abbey of the Thelemites was Built and Endowed.

For the fabric and furniture of the abbey, Gargantua caused to be delivered out in ready money seven and twenty hundred thousand, eight hundred and one and thirty of those golden rams of Berry, which have a sheep stamped on the one side, and a flowered cross on the other ; and for every year until the whole work were completed, he allotted three-score nine thousand crowns of the sun, and as many of the seven stars, to be charged all upon the receipt of the custom. For the foundation and maintenance thereof for ever, he settled a perpetual fee-farm rent of three and twenty hundred, threescore and nine thousand, five hundred and fourteen rose nobles, exempted from all homage, fealty, service or burden whatsoever, and payable every year at the gate of the abbey ; and of this, by letters patent passed a very good grant. The architecture was in a figure hexagonal, and in such a fashion, that in every one of the six corners there was built a

great round tower of threescore feet in diameter, and were all of a like form and bigness. Upon the north side ran along the river of Loire, on the bank whereof was situated the tower called Arctic. Going towards the east, there was another called Calaer—the next following Anatole—the next Mesembrine—the next Hesperia, and the last Criere. Every tower was distant from the other the space of three hundred and twelve paces. The whole edifice was everywhere six stories high, reckoning the cellars under ground for one. The second was arched after the fashion of a basket-handle ; the rest were ceiled with pure wainscot, flourished with Flanders fret-work, in the form of the foot of a lamp, and covered above with fine slates, with an indorsement of lead, carrying the antique figures of little flower-baskets, and animals of all sorts, notably well suited to one another, and gilt, together with the gutters, which jetting without the walls from betwixt the cross bars in a diagonal figure, painted with gold and azure, reached to the very ground, where they ended into great conduit-pipes, which carried all away unto the river from under the house.

This same building was a hundred times more sumptuous and magnificent than ever was Bonnivet, Chambourg, or Chantilly ; for there were in it nine thousand three hundred and two and thirty chambers, every one whereof had a with-drawing room, a handsome closet, a wardrobe, an oratory, and neat passage, leading into a great and spacious hall. Between every tower, in the midst of the said body of building, there was a pair of winding, such as we now call lanthorn stairs, whereof the steps were part of porphyry, which is a dark red marble, spotted with white, part of Numidian stone, which is a kind of yellowishly-streaked marble upon various colours, and part of serpentine marble, with light spots on a dark green ground, each of those steps being two and twenty feet in length, and three fingers thick, and the just number

of twelve betwixt every rest, or, as we now term it, landing-place. In every resting place were two fair antique arches where the light came in : and by those they went into a cabinet, made even with, and of the breadth of the said winding, and the re-ascending above the roofs of the house ending conically in a pavilion. By that vize or winding, they entered on every side into a great hall, and from the halls into the chambers. From the Arctic tower unto the Criere, were the fair great libraries in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian and Spanish, respectively distributed in their several cantons, according to the diversity of these languages. In the midst there was a wonderful scalier or winding-stair, the entry whereof was without the house, in a vault or arch, six fathoms broad. It was made in such symmetry and largeness, that six men at arms with their lances in their rests might together in a breast ride all up to the very top of all the palace. From the tower Anatole to the Mesembrine were fair spacious galleries, all covered over and painted with the ancient prowesses, histories and descriptions of the world. In the midst thereof there was likewise such another ascent and gate, as we said there was on the river-side. Upon that gate was written in great antique letters that which followeth.

VIII

The Inscription set upon the Great Gate of Theleme.

Here enter not, vile bigots, hypocrites,
Externally devoted apes, base snites,
Puft up, wry-necked beasts, worse than the Huns
Or Ostrogoths, forerunners of baboons :
Cursed snakes, dissembling varlets, seeming sancts,
Slipshod caffards, beggars pretending wants,

Fat chuffcats, smell-feast knockers, doltish gulls,
Out-strouting cluster-fists, contentious bulls,
Fomenters of divisions and debates,
Elsewhere, not here, make sale of your deceits.
Your evil trumperies
Stuffed with pernicious lies,
Not worth a bubble,
Would only trouble
Our earthly paradise,
Your evil trumperies.

Here enter not, attorneys, barristers,
Nor bridle-champing law-practitioners ;
Clerks, commissaries, scribes, nor pharisees,
Wilful disturbers of the people's ease :
Judges, destroyers, with an unjust breath,
Of honest men, like dogs, ev'n unto death.
Your salary is at the gibbet-foot :
Go drink there ! for with us is no pursuit
Of those excessive courses, which may draw
A waiting on your courts by suits in law.
Law-suits, debates, and wrangling
Hence are exil'd, and jangling.
Here we are very
Frolic and merry,
And free from all entangling,
Law-suits, debates, and wrangling.

Here enter not, base pinching usurers,
Pelf-lickers, everlasting gatherers,
Gold-graspers, coin-gripers, gulpers of mists,
With harpy-griping claws, who, though your chests
Vast sums of money should to you afford,
Would ne'ertheless add more unto that hoard.
Motiveless pinchers, with the lean wolf's face,
Rasping and grasping, hugging in embrace
The dross that sets Death's mark upon your face,

Inhuman-looking men,
Prowl over rock and fen,
For we cannot
To you allot
Room here. Not this your den,
Inhuman-looking men.

Here enter not, fond makers of demurs
In love adventures, peevish jealous curs,
Sad pensive dotards, raisers of garboyles,
Hags, goblins, ghosts, firebrands of household broils,
Nor drunkards, liars, cowards, cheaters, clowns,
Thieves, cannibals, faces o'ercast with frowns,
Nor lazy slugs, envious, covetous,
Nor blockish, cruel, nor too credulous—
The foul and dissolute have here no place,
No ugly lusks, nor persons of disgrace.
Grace, honour, praise, delight,
Here sojourn day and night.
Sound bodies lin'd
With a good mind,
Do here pursue with might
Grace, honour, praise, delight.

Here enter ye, and welcome from our hearts,
All noble souls, endow'd with gallant parts.
This is the glorious place, which bravely shall
Afford wherewith to entertain you all.
Were you a thousand, here you shall not want
For anything : for what you'll ask we'll grant.
Stay here you lively, jovial, handsome, brisk,
Gay, witty, frolic, cheerful, merry, frisk,
Spruce, jocund, courteous, furtherers of trades,
And in a word, all generous comrades.
Blades of heroic breasts
With us shall taste the feasts,
Both privily
And civilly

Of the celestial guests,
Blades of heroic breasts.

Here enter ye, pure, honest, faithful, true,
Who teach the Gospel though men storm at you ;
Whose glosses do not blind our reason, but
Make it to see the clearer ; here be shut
In refuge safe from hatred, avarice,
Poisonous Error and her brood of vice.
Come, and found here a firmly settled faith,
Which neighbourly affection nourisheth.
Here speak, and write, and break at last the rod
Of those who rage against the Word of God.
The Holy, Sacred Word
Shall always here afford
Defence around
Our holy ground,
A spiritual shield and sword,
The Holy, Sacred Word.

Here enter ye, all ladies of high birth,
Delicious, stately, full of prudent mirth,
Ingenious, honourable, heavenly fair,
Here Honour lives, and breathes her native air.
The high God, who was Giver of this ground,
Gives all the calm and gold that is around.
Come, joys enjoy ; the Lord celestial
Hath given enough wherewith to bless us all.
Gold He gives us, God forgives us,
And from all our woes relieves us ;
In His Pardon is our treasure,
In our giving is our pleasure,
Here there is no Wrong that grieves us,
Gold He gives us, God forgives us.

IX

What manner of Dwelling the Thelemites had.

In the middle of the lower court there was a stately fountain of fair alabaster. Upon the top thereof stood the three Graces, with their cornucopias, or horns of abundance, and did jet out the water at their breasts, mouth, ears and eyes. The inside of the buildings in this lower court stood upon great pillars of chalcedony stone, and porphyry marble, made archwise after a goodly antique fashion. Within those were spacious galleries, long and large, adorned with curious pictures, the horns of bucks and unicorns; with rhinoceroses, water-horses, called hippopotames; the teeth and tusks of elephants, and other things well worth the beholding. The lodging of the ladies took up all from the tower Arctic unto the gate Mesembrine. The men possessed the rest. Before the said lodging of the ladies, that they might have their recreation, between the two first towers, on the outside, were placed the tilt-yard, the barriers or lists for tournaments, the hippodrome or riding court, the theatre or public playhouse, and natatory or place to swim in, with most admirable baths in three stages, situated above one another, well-furnished with all necessary accommodation, and store of myrtle-water. By the river-side was the fair pleasure garden, and in the midst of that the glorious labyrinth. Between the two other towers were the courts for tennis and football. Towards the tower Criere stood the orchard full of all fruit-trees, set and arranged in a quincuncial order. At the end of that was the great park, abounding with all sort of venison. Betwixt the third couple of towers were the butts and marks for shooting with a snap-work gun, an ordinary bow for common archery, or with a cross-bow. The domestic offices were without the tower Hesperia, of one story high. The stables were beyond

the offices, and before them stood the falconry, managed by bird-keepers and falconers, very expert in the art, and it was yearly supplied and furnished by the Candians, Venetians, Sarmatians, now called Moscoviters, with all sorts of most excellent hawks, eagles, gerfalcons, goshawks, sacres, lanners, falcons, sparhawks, merlins, and other kinds of them, so gentle and perfectly well manned, that, flying of themselves sometimes from the castle for their own disport, they would not fail to catch whatever they encountered. The venery, where the beagles and hounds were kept, was a little farther off, drawing towards the park.

All the halls, chambers, and closets or cabinets were richly hung with tapestry, and hangings of divers sorts, according to the variety of the seasons of the year. All the pavements and floors were covered with green cloth. The beds were all embroidered. In every back-chamber or with-drawing room there was a looking-glass of pure crystal set in a frame of fine gold, garnished all about with pearls, and was of such greatness that it would represent to the full the whole lineaments and proportion of the person that stood before it. At the going out of the halls, which belong to the ladies' lodgings, were the perfumers and trimmers, through whose hands the gallants past when they were to visit the ladies. Those sweet artificers did every morning furnish the ladies' chambers with the spirit of roses, orange-flower water, and angelica; and to each of them gave a little precious casket vapouring forth the most odoriferous exhalations of the choicest aromatical scents.

X

How the Men and Women of the Religious Order of Theleme were apparelled.

The ladies of the foundation of this order were apparelled after their own pleasure and liking. But,

since that of their own accord and free will they have reformed themselves, their accoutrement is in manner as followeth. They wore stockings of scarlet crimson, or ingrained purple dye, which reached just three inches above the knee, having a list beautified with exquisite embroideries, and rare incisions of the cutter's art. Their garters were of the colour of their bracelets, and circled the knee a little both over and under. Their shoes, pumps, and slippers were either of red, violet, or crimson velvet, pinked and jagged like lobster wadles.

Next to their smock they put on the pretty kirtle or vasquin of pure silk camblet: above that went the taffaty or tabby vardingale, of white, red, tawny, grey, or of any other colour. Above this taffaty petticoat they had another of cloth of tissue, or brocade, embroidered with fine gold, and interlaced with needlework, or as they thought good, and according to the temperature and disposition of the weather, had their upper coats of satin, damask, or velvet, and those either orange, tawny, green, ash-coloured, blue, yellow, bright red, crimson, or white, and so forth; or had them of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, or some other choice stuff, enriched with purple, or embroidered according to the dignity of the festival days and times wherein they wore them.

Their gowns, being still correspondent to the season, were either of cloth of gold frizzled with a silver-raised work; of red satin, covered with gold purl; of tabby, or taffaty, white, blue, black, tawny, etc., of silk serge, silk camblet, velvet, cloth of silver, silver tissue, cloth of gold, gold wire, figured velvet, or figured satin, tinselled and overcast with golden threads, in divers variously purfled draughts.

In the summer, some days, instead of gowns, they wore light handsome mantles, made either of the stuff of the aforesaid attire, or like Moresco rugs, of violet velvet frizzled, with a raised work of gold upon silver

purl, or with a knotted cord-work of gold embroidery, everywhere garnished with little Indian pearls. They always carried a fair panache, or plume of feathers, of the colour of their muff, bravely adorned and tricked out with glistering spangles of gold. In the winter time, they had their taffaty gowns of all colours, as above named, and those lined with the rich furrings of hind-wolves, or speckled linxes, black-spotted weasels, martlet skins of Calabria, sables, and other costly furs of an inestimable value. Their beads, rings, bracelets, collars, carcanets, and neck-chains were all of precious stones, such as carbuncles, rubies, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, turquoises, garnets, agates, beryls, and excellent margarites. Their head dressing also varied with the season of the year, according to which they decked themselves. In winter it was of the French fashion; in the spring, of the Spanish; in summer, of the fashion of Tuscany, except only upon the holy days and Sundays, at which times they were accoutred in the French mode, because they accounted it more honourable, and better befitting the garb of a matronal pudicity.

The men were apparelled after their fashion. Their stockings were of tamine or of cloth-serge, of white, black, scarlet, or some other ingrained colour. Their breeches were of velvet, of the same colour with their stockings, or very near, embroidered and cut according to their fancy. Their doublet was of cloth of gold, of cloth of silver, of velvet, satin, damask, taffaties, etc., of the same colours, cut, embroidered, and suitably trimmed up in perfection. The points were of silk of the same colour, the tags were of gold well enamelled. Their coats and jerkins were of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, gold, tissue or velvet embroidered, as they thought fit. Their gowns were every whit as costly as those of the ladies. Their girdles were of silk, of the colour of their doublets.

Pudicity, modesty.

Every one had a gallant sword by his side, the hilt and handle whereof were gilt, and the scabbard of velvet, of the colour of his breeches, with a chape of gold, and pure goldsmith's work. The dagger of the same. Their caps or bonnets were of black velvet, adorned with jewels and buttons of gold. Upon that they wore a white plume, most prettily and minion-like parted by so many rows of gold spangles, at the end whereof hung dangling in a more sparkling resplendency fair rubies, emeralds, diamonds, etc.

But there was such a sympathy betwixt the gallants and the ladies, that every day they were apparelled in the same livery. And that they might not miss, there were certain gentlemen appointed to tell the youths every morning what vestments the ladies would on that day wear; for all was done according to the pleasure of the ladies. In these so handsome clothes, and habiliments so rich, think not that either one or other of either sex did waste any time at all; for the masters of the wardrobes had all their raiments and apparel so ready for every morning, and the chamber-ladies were so well skilled, that in a trice they would be dressed, and completely in their clothes from head to foot. And, to have those accoutrements with the more conveniency, there was about the wood of Theleme a row of houses of the extent of half a league, very neat and cleanly, wherein dwelt the goldsmiths, lapidaries, jewellers, embroiderers, tailors, gold-drawers, velvet-weavers, tapestry-makers, and upholsterers, who wrought there every one in his own trade, and all for the aforesaid order of religious men and women. They were furnished with matter and stuff from the hands of the Lord Nausiclete, who every year brought them seven ships from the Perlas and Cannibal Islands, laden with ingots of gold, with raw silk, with pearls and precious stones. And if any margarites, called unions (pearls), began to grow old, and lose somewhat of their natural whiteness and lustre, those

by their art they did renew, by tendering them to eat to some pretty cocks, as they use to give casting unto hawks.

XI

How the Thelemites were Governed, and of their Manner of Living.

All their life was spent not in laws, statutes, or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. They rose out of their beds when they thought good: they did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it, and were disposed for it. None did awake them, none did offer to constrain them to eat, drink, nor to do any other thing; for so had Gargantua established it. In all their rule, and strictest tie of their order, there was but this one clause to be observed:—

DO AS THOU WOULDST

Because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct and spur that prompteth them unto virtuous actions, and withdraws them from vice, which is called honour. Those same men, when by base subjection and constraint they are brought under and kept down, turn aside from that noble disposition, by which they formerly were inclined to virtue, to shake off and break that bond of servitude, wherein they are so tyrannously enslaved; for it is agreeable with the nature of man to long after things forbidden, and to desire what is denied us.

By this liberty they entered into a very laudable emulation, to do all of them what they saw did please

one. If any of the gallants or ladies should say, Let us drink, they would all drink. If any one of them said, Let us play, they all played. If one said, Let us go a walking into the fields, they all went. If it were to go a hawking or a hunting, the ladies mounted upon dainty, well-paced nags, seated in a stately palfrey saddle, carried on their lovely fists, miniardly begloved every one of them, either a sparhawk, or a laneret, or a merlin, and the young gallants carried the other kinds of hawks. So nobly were they taught, that there was neither he nor she amongst them but could read, write, sing, play upon several musical instruments, speak five or six several languages, and compose in them all very quaintly, both in verse and prose. Never were seen so valiant knights, so noble and worthy, so dextrous and skilful both on foot and a horseback, more brisk and lively, more nimble and quick, or better handling all manner of weapons than were there. Never were seen ladies so proper and handsome, so miniard and dainty, less forward, or more ready with their hand, and with their needle, in every honest and free action belonging to that sex, than were there. For this reason, when the time came, that any man of the said abbey, either at the request of his parents, or for some other cause, had a mind to go out of it, he carried along with him one of the ladies, namely her who had before that chosen him for her humble servant, and they were married together. And if they had formerly in Theleme lived in good devotion and amity, they did continue therein and increase it to a greater height in their state of matrimony: and did entertain that mutual love till the very last day of their life, in no less vigour and fervency than at the very day of their wedding.

GARGANTUA ON EDUCATION

How Pantagruel, being at Paris, received Letters from his Father Gargantua, and the Copy of them.

PANTAGRUEL studied very hard, as you may well conceive, and profited accordingly; for he had an excellent understanding, and notable wit, together with a capacity in memory, equal to the measure of twelve oil budgets, or butts of olives. And, as he was there abiding one day, he received a letter from his father in manner as followeth:—

"MOST DEAR SON,—Amongst the gifts, graces, and prerogatives with which the sovereign plasmator God Almighty hath endowed and adorned human nature at the beginning, that seems to me most singular and excellent, by which we may in a mortal estate attain to a kind of immortality, and in the course of this transitory life perpetuate our name and seed, which is done by a progeny issued from us in the lawful bonds of matrimony. Whereby that in some measure is restored unto us, which was taken from us by the sin of our first parents, to whom it was said, that, because they had not obeyed the commandment of God their Creator, they should die; and by death should be brought to nought that so stately frame and plasmature, wherein the man at first had been created.

"But by this means there continueth in the children what was lost in the parents; and in the grandchildren that which perished in their fathers, and so successively until the day of the last judgment, when Jesus Christ shall have rendered up to God the Father

His kingdom in a peaceable condition, out of all danger and contamination of sin; for then shall cease all generations and corruptions, and the elements leave off their continual transmutations, seeing the so much desired peace shall be attained unto and enjoyed, and that all things shall be brought to their end and period. And, therefore, not without just and reasonable cause do I give thanks to God my Saviour and Preserver, for that He hath enabled me to see my bald old age re-flourish in thy youth; for when, at His good pleasure, who rules and governs all things, my soul shall leave this mortal habitation, I shall not account myself wholly to die, but to pass from one place unto another, considering that, in and by thee, I continue in my visible image living in the world, visiting and conversing with people of honour, and other my good friends, as I was wont to do. Which conversation of mine, although it was not without sin (because we are all of us trespassers, and therefore ought continually to beseech His Divine Majesty to blot our transgressions out of His memory), yet was it by the help and grace of God, without all manner of reproach before men.

"Wherefore, if those qualities of the mind but shine in thee, wherewith I am endowed, as in thee remaineth the perfect image of my body, thou wilt be esteemed by all men to be the perfect guardian and treasure of the immortality of our name. But, if otherwise, I shall truly take but small pleasure to see it, considering that the lesser part of me, which is the body, would abide in thee, and the best, to wit, that which is the soul, and by which our name continues blessed amongst men, would be degenerate and abastardized. This I do not speak out of any distrust that I have of thy virtue, which I have heretofore already tried, but to encourage thee yet more earnestly to proceed from good to better. And that which I now write unto thee is not so much that thou

shouldest live in this virtuous course, as that thou shouldest rejoice in so living and having lived, and cheer up thyself with the like resolution in time to come; to the prosecution and accomplishment of which enterprise and generous undertaking thou mayest easily remember how that I have spared nothing, but have so helped thee as if I had no other treasure in this world, but to see thee once in my life completely well-bred and accomplished, as well in virtue, honesty, and valour, as in all liberal knowledge and civility, and so to leave thee after my death as a mirror representing the person of me thy father, and if not so excellent, and such indeed as I do wish thee, yet such in thy desire.

"But although my deceased father of happy memory, Grangousier, had bent his best endeavours to make me profit in all perfection and political knowledge, and that my labour and study was fully correspondent to, yea, went beyond his desire, nevertheless, as thou mayest well understand, the time then was not so proper and fit for learning as it is at present, neither had I plenty of such good masters as thou hast had. For that time was darksome, obscured with clouds of ignorance, and savouring a little of the infelicity and calamity of the Goths, who had, wherever they set footing, destroyed all good literature, which in my age hath by the divine goodness been restored unto its former light and dignity, and that with such amendment and increase of knowledge, that now hardly should I be admitted unto the first form of the little grammar-school boys. I say, I, who in my youthful days was, and that justly, reputed the most learned of that age. Which I do not speak in vain boasting, although I might lawfully do it in writing unto thee—in verification whereof thou hast the authority of Marcus Tullius in his book of Old Age, and the sentence of Plutarch, in the book intituled, How a man may praise himself without

envy :—but to give thee an emulous encouragement to strive yet further.

" Now it is, that the minds of men are qualified with all manner of discipline, and the old sciences revived, which for many ages were extinct. Now it is, that the learned languages are to their pristine purity restored—viz., Greek, without which a man may be ashamed to account himself a scholar, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldæan, and Latin. Printing likewise is now in use, so elegant and so correct, that better cannot be imagined, although it was found out but in my time by divine inspiration, as by a diabolical suggestion on the other side, was the invention of ordnance. All the world is full of knowing men, of most learned schoolmasters, and vast libraries ; and it appears to me as a truth, that neither in Plato's time, nor Cicero's, nor Papinian's, there was ever such conveniency for studying, as we see at this day there is. Nor must any adventure henceforward to come in public, or present himself in company, that hath not been pretty well polished in the shop of Minerva. I see robbers, hangmen, freebooters, tapsters, ostlers, and such like, of the very rubbish of the people, more learned now than the doctors and preachers were in my time.

" What shall I say ? The very women and children have aspired to this praise and celestial manna of good learning. Yet so it is, that at the age I am now of, I have been constrained to learn the Greek tongue—which I contemned not like Cato, but had not the leisure in my younger years to attend the study of it—and I take much delight in the reading of Plutarch's Morals, the pleasant Dialogues of Plato, the Monuments of Pausanias, and the Antiquities of Athenæus, in waiting on the hour wherein God my Creator shall call me, and command me to depart from this earth and transitory pilgrimage. Wherefore, my son, I admonish thee to employ thy youth to profit as well as

thou canst, both in thy studies and in virtue. Thou art at Paris, where the laudable examples of many brave men may stir up thy mind to gallant actions, and hast likewise for thy tutor and pedagogue the learned Epistemon, who by his lively and vocal arguments may instruct thee in the arts and sciences.

" I intend, and will have it so, that thou learn the languages perfectly ; first of all, the Greek, as Quintilian will have it ; secondly, the Latin ; and then the Hebrew, for the Holy Scripture-sake ; and then the Chaldee and Arabic likewise, and that thou frame thy style in Greek in imitation of Plato ; and for the Latin, after Cicero. Let there be no history which thou shalt not have ready in thy memory ;—unto the prosecuting of which design, books of cosmography will be very conducible, and help thee much. Of the liberal arts of geometry, arithmetic, and music, I gave thee some taste when thou wert yet little, and not above five or six years old. Proceed further in them, and learn the remainder if thou canst. As for astronomy, study all the rules thereof. Let pass, nevertheless, the divining and judicial astrology, and the art of Lullius, as being nothing else but plain abuses and vanities. As for the civil law, of that I would have thee to know the fair texts by heart, and then to confer them with philosophy.

" Now, in matter of the knowledge of the works of nature, I would have thee to study that exactly ; that so there be no sea, river, nor fountain, of which thou dost not know the fishes ; all the fowls of the air ; all the several kinds of shrubs and trees, whether in forest or orchards ; all the sorts of herbs and flowers that grow upon the ground ; all the various metals that are hid within the bowels of the earth ; together with all the diversity of precious stones that are to be seen in the orient and south parts of the world. Let nothing of all these be hidden from thee. Then fail not most carefully to peruse the books of the

Greek, Arabian, and Latin physicians, not despising the Talmudists and Cabalists; and by frequent anatomies get thee the perfect knowledge of that other world, called the microcosm, which is man. And at some of the hours of the day apply thy mind to the study of the Holy Scriptures; first, in Greek. the New Testament, with the Epistles of the Apostles; and then the Old Testament in Hebrew. In brief, let me see thee an abyss, and bottomless pit of knowledge: for from henceforward, as thou growest great and becomest a man, thou must part from this tranquillity and rest of study, thou must learn chivalry, warfare, and the exercises of the field, the better thereby to defend my house and our friends, and to succour and protect them at all their needs, against the invasion and assaults of evildoers.

"Furthermore, I will that very shortly thou try how much thou hast profited, which thou canst not better do, than by maintaining publicly theses and conclusions in all arts, against all persons whatsoever, and by haunting the company of learned men, both at Paris and otherwhere. But because, as the wise man Solomon saith, Wisdom entereth not into a malicious mind, and that knowledge without conscience is but the ruin of the soul; it behoveth thee to serve, to love, to fear God, and on Him to cast all thy thoughts and all thy hope, and, by faith formed in charity, to cleave unto Him, so that thou mayst never be separated from Him by thy sins. Suspect the abuses of the world. Set not thy heart upon vanity, for this life is transitory, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever. Be serviceable to all thy neighbours, and love them as thyself. Reverence thy preceptors: shun the conversation of those whom thou desirest not to resemble; and receive not in vain the graces which God hath bestowed upon thee. And, when thou shalt see that thou hast attained to all the knowledge that is to be acquired in that part, return unto me, that I may see

thee, and give thee my blessing before I die. My son, the peace and grace of our Lord be with thee, Amen.

" Thy Father,

" GARGANTUA.

" From Utopia, the 17th day of the month of March."

These letters being received and read, Pantagruel plucked up his heart, took a fresh courage to him, and was inflamed with a desire to profit in his studies more than ever, so that if you had seen him, how he took pains, and how he advanced in learning, you would have said that the vivacity of his spirit amidst the books was like a great fire amongst dry wood, so active it was, vigorous, and indefatigable.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE COMPLEAT ANGLER"

[Izaak Walton, born in 1593, the son of a Stafford yeoman, went young to London and became an ironmonger; he also gained the friendship of Donne, in whose parish he lived, of Sir Henry Wotton, and of Bishop George Morley, in whose palace at Winchester he spent the last twenty years of his life. His wide and unfading popularity he owes to two small books—the *Lives* (of Hooker, George Herbert, Donne, Wotton, and Sanderson), and *The Compleat Angler*, the first English classic on the art of fishing. Andrew Lang has summed up its peculiar merits in three sentences: "Our angling literature is copious, practical, full of anecdote; Walton alone gave it style. He is not so much unrivalled, as absolutely alone. Heaven meant him for the place he fills, as it meant the cowslips and the Mayfly."]

Observations of the Otter and Chub

Venator. My friend Piscator, you have kept time with my thoughts; for the sun is just rising, and I myself just now come to this place, and the dogs have just now put down an Otter. Look down at the bottom of the hill there in that meadow, checkered with water-lilies and lady-smocks; there you may see what work they make. Look! look! you may see all busy, men and dogs, dogs and men, all busy.

Pisc. Sir, I am right glad to meet you, and glad to have so fair an entrance into this day's sport, and glad to see so many dogs, and more men all in pursuit of the Otter. Let's compliment no longer, but join unto them. Come, honest Venator, let's be gone, let us make haste; I long to be doing: no reasonable hedge or ditch shall hold me.

Ven. Gentleman Huntsman, where found you this Otter?

Hunt. Marry, Sir, we found her a mile from this place, a-fishing: she has this morning eaten the greatest part of this Trout; she has only left thus much of it, as you see, and was fishing for more. When we came, we found her just at it: but we were here very early, we were here an hour before sunrise, and have given her no rest since we came; sure she will hardly escape all these dogs and men. I am to have the skin if we kill her.

Ven. Why, Sir, what's the skin worth?

Hunt. 'T is worth ten shillings to make gloves; the gloves of an Otter are the best fortification for your hands that can be thought on against wet weather.

Pisc. I pray, honest Huntsman, let me ask you a pleasant question: Do you hunt a beast or a fish?

Hunt. Sir, it is not in my power to resolve you. I leave it to be resolved by the College of Carthusians, who have made vows never to eat flesh. But I have heard the question hath been debated among many great clerks, and they seem to differ about it; yet most agree that her tail is fish: and if her body be fish too, then I may say that a fish will walk upon land, for an Otter does so sometimes five, or six, or ten miles in a night, to catch for her young ones, or to glut herself with fish, and I can tell you that pigeons will fly forty miles for a breakfast; but, Sir, I am sure the Otter devours much fish, and kills and spoils much more than he eats: and I can tell you that this Dog-fisher, for so the Latins call him, can smell a fish in the water an hundred yards from him: Gesner says much farther, and that his stones are good against the falling-sickness; and that there is an herb, Benione, which being hung in a linen-cloth near a fish-pond, or any haunt that he uses, makes him to avoid the place; which proves he smells both by water and land. And I can tell you there is brave hunting this water-dog in Cornwall; where there have been so many, that our learned Camden says there is a river called Ottersey,

which was so named by reason of the abundance of Otters that bred and fed in it.

And thus much for my knowledge of the Otter, which you may now see above water at vent, and the dogs close with him ; I now see he will not last long : follow, therefore, my masters, follow, for Sweetlips was like to have him at this last vent.

Ven. Oh me ! all the horse are got over the river. What shall we do now ? shall we follow them over the water ?

Hunt. No, Sir, no, be not so eager : stay a little and follow me, for both they and the dogs will be suddenly on this side again, I warrant you : and the Otter too, it may be. Now have at him with Kilbuck, for he vents again.

Ven. Marry, so he does, for look, he vents in that corner. Now, now Ringwood has him : now he's gone again, and has bit the poor dog. Now Sweetlips has her ; hold her, Sweetlips ! Now all the dogs have her, some above and some under water ; but now, now she's tired, and past losing : come, bring her to me, Sweetlips. Look, 't is a Bitch-Otter, and she has lately whelped : let's go to the place where she was put down, and not far from it you will find all her young ones, I dare warrant you, and kill them all too.

Hunt. Come, Gentlemen ! come all ! let's go to the place where we put down the Otter. Look you, hereabout it was that she kennelled ; look you, here it was indeed, for here's her young ones, no less than five : come, let's kill them all.

Pisc. No, I pray, Sir, save me one, and I'll try if I can make her tame, as I know an ingenious gentleman in Leicestershire, Mr. Nich. Seagrave, has done ; who hath not only made her tame, but to catch fish, and do many other things of much pleasure.

Hunt. Take one with all my heart, but let us kill the rest. And now let's go to an honest ale-house, where

we may have a cup of good barley-wine, and sing "Old Rose," and all of us rejoice together.

Ven. Come, my friend Piscator, let me invite you along with us. I'll bear your charges this night, and you shall bear mine to-morrow; for my intention is to accompany you a day or two in fishing.

Pisc. Sir, your request is granted, and I shall be right glad, both to exchange such a courtesy, and also to enjoy your company.

Ven. Well, now let's go to your sport of Angling.

Pisc. Let's be going with all my heart. God keep you all, Gentlemen, and send you meet this day with another Bitch-Otter, and kill her merrily, and all her young ones too.

Ven. Now, Piscator, where will we begin to fish?

Pisc. We are not yet come to a likely place: I must walk a mile further yet, before I begin.

Ven. Well then, I pray, as we walk, tell me freely how do you like your lodging, and mine host, and the company? Is not mine host a witty man?

Pisc. Sir, I will tell you presently what I think of your host; but first I will tell you, I am glad these Otters were killed, and I am sorry that there are no more otter-killers; for I know that the want of otter-killers, and the not keeping the Fence-months for the preservation of fish, will in time prove the destruction of all rivers; and those very few that are left, that make conscience of the laws of the nation, and of keeping days of abstinence, will be forced to eat flesh, or suffer more inconveniences than are yet foreseen.

Ven. Why, Sir, what be those that you call the Fence-months?

Pisc. Sir, they be principally three, namely, March, April, and May; for these be the usual months that Salmon come out of the sea to spawn in most fresh rivers, and their fry would about a certain time return back to the salt water, if they were not hindered by weirs and unlawful gins, which the greedy fishermen

set, and so destroy them by thousands ; as they would, being so taught by Nature, change the fresh for salt water. He that shall view the wise statutes made in the 13th of Edward I., and the like in Richard II., may see several provisions made against the destruction of fish ; and though I profess no knowledge of the law, yet I am sure the regulation of these defects might be easily mended. But I remember that a wise friend of mine did usually say, " That which is everybody's business is nobody's business ; " if it were otherwise, there could not be so many nets and fish that are under the statute size sold daily amongst us, and of which the conservators of the waters should be ashamed.

But above all, the taking fish in spawning-time may be said to be against nature ; it is like the taking the dam on the nest when she hatches her young ; a sin so against nature, that Almighty God hath in the Levitical law, Deuteron. xxii. 6, 7, made a law against it.

But the poor fish have enemies enough beside such unnatural Fishermen, as namely, the Otters that I spake of, the Cormorant, the Bittern, the Osprey, the Sea-gull, the Heron, the Kingfisher, the Gorara, the Puet, the Swan, Goose, Ducks, and the Craber, which some call the Water-rat : against all which any honest man may make a just quarrel, but I will not, I will leave them to be quarrelled with and killed by others ; for I am not of a cruel nature—I love to kill nothing but fish.

And now to your question concerning your host. To speak truly, he is not to me a good companion : for most of his conceits were either Scripture jests, or lascivious jests ; for which I count no man witty, for the Devil will help a man that way inclined, to the first, and his own corrupt nature, which he always carries with him, to the latter : but a companion that feasts the company with wit and mirth, and leaves out the sin which is usually mixed with them, he is the man ; and indeed such a companion should have his charges borne,

and to such company I hope to bring you this night; for at Trout Hall, not far from this place, where I purpose to lodge to-night, there is usually an Angler that proves good company. And let me tell you, good company and good discourse are the very sinews of virtue: but for such discourse as we heard last night, it infects others, the very boys will learn to talk and swear as they heard mine host, and another of the company that shall be nameless; I am sorry the other is a gentleman, for less religion will not save their souls than a beggar's; I think more will be required at the last great day. Well, you know what example is able to do; and I know what the poet says in the like case, which is worthy to be noted by all parents and people of civility:—

> 'Many a one
> Owes to his country his religion:
> And in another would as strongly grow,
> Had but his nurse or mother taught him so."

This is reason put into verse, and worthy the consideration of a wise man. But of this no more, for though I love civility, yet I hate severe censures: I'll to my own art, and I doubt not but at yonder tree I shall catch a Chub, and then we'll turn to an honest cleanly hostess, that I know right well, rest ourselves there, and dress it for our dinner.

Ven. O Sir! a Chub is the worst fish that swims; I hoped for a Trout to my dinner.

Pisc. Trust me, Sir, there is not a likely place for a Trout hereabout, and we stayed so long to take our leave of your huntsmen this morning, that the sun is got so high, and shines so clear, that I will not undertake the catching of a Trout till evening. And though a Chub be by you and many others reckoned the worst of fish, yet you shall see I'll make it a good fish by dressing it.

Ven. Why, how will you dress him?

Pisc. I'll tell you by and by, when I have caught him. Look you here, Sir, do you see ?—but you must stand very close—there lie upon the top of the water in this very hole twenty Chubs. I'll catch only one, and that shall be the biggest of them all ; and that I will do so I'll hold you twenty to one, and you shall see it done.

Ven. Ay, marry, Sir ! now you talk like an artist ; and I'll say you are one, when I shall see you perform what you say you can do : but I yet doubt it.

Pisc. You shall not doubt it long, for you shall see me do it presently. Look, the biggest of these Chubs has had some bruise upon his tail, by a pike or some other accident, and that looks like a white spot ; that very Chub I mean to put into your hands presently ; sit you but down in the shade, and stay but a little while, and I'll warrant you I'll bring him to you.

Ven. I'll sit down and hope well, because you seem to be so confident.

Pisc. Look you, Sir, there is a trial of my skill ; there he is : that very Chub that I showed you with the white spot on his tail ; and I'll be as certain to make him a good dish of meat, as I was to catch him. I'll now lead you to an honest ale-house, where we shall find a cleanly room, lavender in the windows, and twenty ballads stuck about the wall: there my hostess, which I may tell you is both cleanly, and handsome, and civil, hath dressed many a one for me, and shall now dress it after my fashion, and I warrant it good meat.

Ven. Come, Sir, with all my heart, for I begin to be hungry, and long to be at it, and indeed to rest myself too ; for though I have walked but four miles this morning, yet I begin to be weary ; yesterday's hunting hangs still upon me.

Pisc. Well, Sir, and you shall quickly be at rest, for yonder is the house I mean to bring you to.

Come, Hostess, how do you ? Will you first give us

a cup of your best drink, and then dress this Chub, as you dressed my last, when I and my friend were here about eight or ten days ago? But you must do me one courtesy, it must be done instantly.

Hostess. I will do it, Mr. Piscator, and with all the speed I can.

Pisc. Now, Sir, has not my hostess made haste? and does not the fish look lovely?

Ven. Both, upon my word, Sir; and therefore let's say grace, and fall to eating of it.

Pisc. Well, Sir, how do you like it?

Ven. Trust me, 'tis as good meat as I ever tasted: now let me thank you for it, drink to you, and beg a courtesy of you; but it must not be denied me.

Pisc. What is it, I pray, Sir? You are so modest, that methinks I may promise to grant it before it is asked.

Ven. Why, Sir, it is that from henceforth you would allow me to call you Master, and that really I may be your scholar; for you are such a companion, and have so quickly caught and so excellently cooked this fish, as makes me ambitious to be your scholar.

Pisc. Give me your hand; from this time forward I will be your master, and teach you as much of this art as I am able; and will, as you desire me, tell you somewhat of the nature of most of the fish that we are to angle for; and I am sure I both can and will tell you more than any common Angler yet knows.

How to fish for, and to dress, the Chavender, or Chub.

Piscator. The Chub, though he eat well thus dressed, yet as he is usually dressed he does not: he is objected against, not only for being full of small forked bones, dispersed through all his body, but that he eats water-ish, and that the flesh of him is not firm, but short and tasteless. The French esteem him so mean, as to call

him *un Vilain ;* nevertheless he may be so dressed as to make him very good meat : as, namely, if he be a large Chub, then dress him thus :—

First scale him, and then wash him clean, and then take out his guts ; and to that end make the hole as little and near to his gills as you may conveniently, and especially make clean his throat from the grass and weeds that are usually in it, for if that be not very clean, it will make him to taste very sour. Having so done, put some sweet herbs into his belly ; and then tie him with two or three splinters to a spit, and roast him, basted often with vinegar, or rather verjuice and butter, with good store of salt mixed with it.

Being thus dressed, you will find him a much better dish of meat than you, or most folk, even than Anglers themselves, do imagine ; for this dries up the fluid watery humor with which all Chubs do abound.

But take this rule with you, that a Chub newly taken and newly dressed is so much better than a Chub of a day's keeping after he is dead, that I can compare him to nothing so fitly as to cherries newly gathered from a tree, and others that have been bruised and lain a day or two in water. But the Chub being thus used and dressed presently, and not washed after he is gutted—for note, that, lying long in water, and washing the blood out of any fish after they be gutted, abates much of their sweetness—you will find the Chub, being dressed in the blood and quickly, to be such meat as will recompense your labor, and disabuse your opinion.

Or you may dress the Chavender or Chub thus :—

When you have scaled him, and cut off his tail and fins, and washed him very clean, then chine or slit him through the middle, as a salt fish is usually cut ; then give him three or four cuts or scotches on the back with your knife, and broil him on charcoal, or wood-coal that is free from smoke ; and all the time he is a-broiling, baste him with the best sweet butter, and

good store of salt mixed with it; and to this add a little thyme cut exceeding small, or bruised into the butter. The Cheven thus dressed hath the watery taste taken away, for which so many except against him. Thus was the Cheven dressed that you now liked so well, and commended so much. But note again, that if this Chub that you ate of had been kept till to-morrow, he had not been worth a rush. And remember that his throat be washed very clean—I say very clean—and his body not washed after he is gutted as indeed no fish should be.

Well, Scholar, you see what pains I have taken to recover the lost credit of the poor, despised Chub. And now I will give you some rules how to catch him: and I am glad to enter you into the art of Fishing by catching a Chub, for there is no fish better to enter a young angler, he is so easily caught; but then it must be this particular way.

Go to the same hole in which I caught my Chub, where in most hot days you will find a dozen or twenty Chevens floating near the top of the water. Get two or three grasshoppers as you go over the meadow; and get secretly behind the tree, and stand as free from motion as is possible. Then put a grasshopper on your hook, and let your hook hang a quarter of a yard short of the water, to which end you must rest your rod on some bough of the tree. But it is likely the Chubs will sink down towards the bottom of the water at the first shadow of your rod, for a Chub is the fearfullest of fishes and will do so if but a bird flies over him, and makes the least shadow on the water; but they will presently rise up to the top again, and there lie soaring till some shadow affrights them again. I say, when they lie upon the top of the water, look out the best Chub, which you, setting yourself in a fit place, may very easily see, and move your rod as softly as a snail moves to that Chub you intend to catch; let your bait fall gently upon the water three or four

inches before him, and he will infallibly take the bait. And you will be as sure to catch him ; for he is one of the leather-mouthed fishes, of which a hook does scarcely ever lose its hold ; and, therefore, give him play enough before you offer to take him out of the water. Go your way presently ; take my rod, and do as I bid you, and I will sit down and mend my tackling till you return back.

Ven. Truly, my loving Master, you have offered me as fair as I could wish. I'll go and observe your directions.

Look you, Master, what I have done ! that which joys my heart, caught just such another Chub as yours was.

Pisc. Marry, and I am glad of it ; I am like to have a towardly scholar of you. I now see that, with advice and practice, you will make an Angler in a short time. Have but a love to it, and I'll warrant you.

Ven. But, Master, what if I could not have found a grasshopper ?

Pisc. Then I may tell you, that a black snail, with his belly slit to show his white, or a piece of soft cheese, will usually do as well. Nay, sometimes a worm, or any kind of fly, as the Ant-fly, the Flesh-fly, or Wall-fly, or the Dor or Beetle, which you may find under cow-dung, or a Bob, which you will find in the same place, and in time will be a Beetle—it is a short white worm, like to and bigger than a gentle—or a Cod-worm, or a Case-worm—any of these will do very well to fish in such a manner.

And after this manner you may catch a Trout in a hot evening ; when, as you walk by a brook, and shall see or hear him leap at flies, then if you get a grasshopper, put it on your hook, with your line about two yards long, standing behind a bush or tree where his hole is, and make your bait stir up and down on the top of the water. You may, if you stand close, be sure of a bite, but not sure to catch him, for he is not

a leather-mouthed fish: and after this manner you may fish for him with almost any kind of live fly, but especially with a grasshopper.

Ven. But before you go further, I pray, good Master, what mean you by a leather-mouthed fish?

Pisc. By a leather-mouthed fish, I mean such as have their teeth in their throat, as the Chub or Cheven; and so the Barbel, the Gudgeon, and Carp, and divers others have; and the hook, being stuck into the leather, or skin, of the mouth of such fish, does very seldom or never lose its hold: but on the contrary, a Pike, a Perch, or Trout, and so some other fish—which have not their teeth in their throats, but in their mouths, which you shall observe to be very full of bones, and the skin very thin, and little of it:—I say, of these fish the hook never takes so sure hold but you often lose your fish, unless he have gorged it.

Ven. I thank you, good Master, for this observation; but now what shall be done with my Chub or Cheven that I have caught.

Pisc. Marry, Sir, it shall be given away to some poor body, for I'll warrant you I'll give you a Trout for your supper: and it is a good beginning of your art to offer your first-fruits to the poor, who will both thank God and you for it, which I see by your silence you seem to consent to. And for your willingness to part with it so charitably, I will also teach you more concerning Chub-fishing. You are to note that in March and April he is usually taken with worms; in May, June, and July he will bite at any fly, or at cherries, or at beetles with their legs and wings cut off, or at any kind of snail, or at the black bee that breeds in clay-walls; and he never refuses a grasshopper on the top of a swift stream, nor, at the bottom, the young humble-bee that breeds in long grass, and is ordinarily found by the mower of it. In August, and in the cooler months, a yellow paste, made of the strongest cheese, and pounded in a mortar with a little butter

and saffron, so much of it as being beaten small will turn it to a lemon color. And some make a paste for the winter months—at which time the Chub is accounted best, for then it is observed that the forked bones are lost or turned into a kind of gristle, especially if he be baked—of cheese and turpentine. He will bite also at a Minnow or Penk, as a Trout will; of which I shall tell you more hereafter, and of divers other baits. But take this for a rule, that in hot weather he is to be fished for towards the mid-water, or near the top; and in colder weather nearer the bottom. And if you fish for him on the top with a beetle or any fly, then be sure to let your line be very long, and to keep out of sight. And having told you that his spawn is excellent meat, and that the head of a large Cheven, the throat being well washed, is the best part of him, I will say no more of this fish at the present, but wish you may catch the next you fish for.

But lest you may judge me too nice in urging to have the Chub dressed so presently after he is taken, I will commend to your consideration how curious former times have been in the like kind.

You shall read in Seneca his "Natural Questions," Lib. iii. cap. 17, that the ancients were so curious in the newness of their fish, that that seemed not new enough that was not put alive into the guest's hand; and he says that to that end they did usually keep them living in glass bottles in their dining-rooms; and they did glory much, in their entertaining of friends, to have that fish taken from under their table alive, that was instantly to be fed upon. And he says they took great pleasure to see their Mullets change to several colors, when they were dying. But enough of this, for I doubt I have stayed too long from giving you some observations of the Trout, and how to fish for him, which shall take up the next of my spare time.

Observations of the Nature and Breeding of the Trout, and how to fish for him. And the Milkmaid's Song.

Piscator. The Trout is a fish highly valued both in this and foreign nations. He may be justly said, as the old poet said of wine, and we English say of venison, to be a generous fish: a fish that is so like the buck that he also has his seasons; for it is observed, that he comes in and goes out of season with the stag and buck. Gesner says his name is of German offspring, and says he is a fish that feeds clean and purely, in the swiftest streams, and on the hardest gravel; and that he may justly contend with all fresh-water fish, as the Mullet may with all sea-fish, for precedency and daintiness of taste, and that, being in right season, the most dainty palates have allowed precedency to him.

And before I go further in my discourse, let me tell you that you are to observe, that, as there be some barren does, that are good in summer, so there be some barren Trouts that are good in winter; but there are not many that are so, for usually they be in their perfection in the month of May, and decline with the buck. Now you are to take notice, that in several countries, as in Germany and in other parts, compared to ours, fish do differ much in their bigness, and shape, and otherways, and so do Trouts. It is well known that in the Lake Leman, the Lake of Geneva, there are Trouts taken of three cubits long, as is affirmed by Gesner, a writer of good credit; and Mercator says, the Trouts that are taken in the Lake of Geneva are a great part of the merchandise of that famous city. And you are further to know, that there be certain waters that breed Trouts remarkable both for their number and smallness. I know a little brook in Kent that breeds them to a number incredible, and you

may take them twenty or forty in an hour, but none greater than about the size of a gudgeon. There are also in divers rivers, especially that relate to, or be near to the sea, as Winchester, or the Thames about Windsor, a little Trout called a Samlet or Skegger-Trout—in both which places I have caught twenty or forty at a standing—that will bite as fast and as freely as minnows; these be by some taken to be young Salmons, but in those waters they never grow to be bigger than a herring.

There is also in Kent near to Canterbury a Trout called there a Fordidge Trout, a Trout that bears the name of the town where it is usually caught, that is accounted the rarest of fish; many of them near the bigness of a Salmon, but known by their different color, and in their best season they cut very white, and none of these have been known to be caught with an angle, unless it were one that was caught by Sir George Hastings, an excellent Angler, and now with God; and he hath told me, he thought that Trout bit not for hunger but wantonness; and is the rather to be believed, because both he then, and many others before him, have been curious to search into their bellies, what the food was by which they lived; and have found out nothing by which they might satisfy their curiosity.

Concerning which you are to take notice, that it is reported by good authors, that grasshoppers, and some fish, have no mouths, but are nourished and take breath by the porousness of their gills, man knows not how; and this may be believed, if we consider that, when the Raven hath hatched her eggs. she takes no further care, but leaves her young ones to the care of the God of nature, who is said in the Psalms (Psal. cxlvii. 9) "to feed the young ravens that call upon him." And they be kept alive, and fed by a dew, or worms that breed in their nests, or some other ways that we mortals know not; and this may be believed

of the Fordidge Trout, which, as it is said of the Stork, Jerem. viii. 7, that "he knows his season," so he knows his times, I think almost his day of coming into that river out of the sea; where he lives, and, it is like, feeds, nine months of the year, and fasts three in the river of Fordidge. And you are to note that those townsmen are very punctual in observing the time of beginning to fish for them; and boast much that their river affords a Trout that exceeds all others. And just so does Sussex boast of several fish; as namely, a Shelsey Cockle, a Chichester Lobster, an Arundel Mullet, and an Amerly Trout.

And now for some confirmation of the Fordidge Trout: you are to know that this Trout is thought to eat nothing in the fresh water; and it may be the better believed, because it is well known that swallows and bats and wagtails, which are called half-year birds, and not seen to fly in England for six months in the year, but about Michaelmas leave us for a hotter climate; yet some of them that have been left behind their fellows have been found, many thousands at a time, in hollow trees, or clay caves, where they have been observed to live and sleep out the whole winter without meat. And so Albertus observes, that there is one kind of frog that hath her mouth naturally shut up about the end of August, and that she lives so all the winter: and though it be strange to some, yet it is known to too many among us to be doubted.

View Sir Francis Bacon, *Exper.* 899.

See Topsel, *Of Frogs.*

And so much for these Fordidge Trouts, which never afford an Angler sport, but either live their time of being in the fresh water by their meat formerly gotten in the sea, not unlike the swallow or frog, or by the virtue of the fresh water only; or as the Bird of Paradise and the Chameleon are said to live, by the sun and the air.

There is also in Northumberland a Trout called a

Bull-Trout, of a much greater length and bigness than any in these southern parts: and there are in many rivers that relate to the sea Salmon-Trouts, as much different from others, both in shape and in their spots, as we see sheep in some countries differ one from another in their shape and bigness, and in the fineness of their wool; and certainly, as some pastures breed larger sheep, so do some rivers, by reason of the ground over which they run, breed larger Trouts.

Now the next thing that I will commend to your consideration is, that the Trout is of a more sudden growth than other fish; concerning which you are also to take notice, that he lives not so long as the Perch and divers other fishes do, as Sir Francis Bacon hath observed in his "History of Life and Death."

And next you are to take notice, that he is not like the Crocodile, which, if he lives never so long, yet always thrives till his death: but 'tis not so with the Trout; for after he has come to his full growth, he declines in his body, and keeps his bigness or thrives only in his head, till his death. And you are to know, that he will about, especially before, the time of his spawning, get almost miraculously through weirs and flood gates against the streams: even through such high and swift places as is almost incredible. Next, that the Trout usually spawns about October or November, but in some rivers a little sooner or later: which is the more observable, because most other fish spawn in the spring or summer, when the sun hath warmed both the earth and water, and made it fit for generation. And you are to note, that he continues many months out of season: for it may be observed of the Trout, that he is like the Buck or the Ox, that will not be fat in many months, though he go in the very same pasture that horses do, which will be fat in one month; and so you may observe, that most other fishes recover strength, and grow sooner fat and in season, than the Trout doth.

And next you are to note, that till the sun gets to such a height as to warm the earth and the water, the Trout is sick, and lean, and lousy, and unwholesome: for you shall in winter find him to have a big head, and then to be lank, and thin, and lean: at which time many of them have sticking on them Sugs, or Trout-lice, which is a kind of a worm, in shape like a clove or pin, with a big head, and sticks close to him and sucks his moisture; those, I think, the Trout breeds himself, and never thrives till he free himself from them, which is when warm weather comes: and then as he grows stronger, he gets from the dead still water into the sharp streams and the gravel, and there rubs off these worms or lice; and then, as he grows stronger, so he gets him into swifter and swifter streams, and there lies at the watch for any fly or minnow that comes near to him: and he especially loves the May-fly, which is bred of the Cod-worm, or Cadis; and these make the Trout bold and lusty, and he is usually fatter and better meat at the end of that month than at any time of the year.

Now you are to know, that it is observed that usually the best Trouts are either red or yellow; though some, as the Fordidge Trout, be white and yet good; but that is not usual: and it is a note observable, that the female Trout hath usually a less head and a deeper body than the male Trout, and is usually the better meat. And note, that a hog-back and a little head, to either Trout, Salmon, or any other fish, is a sign that fish is in season.

But yet you are to note, that as you see some willows, or palm-trees, bud and blossom sooner than others do, so some Trouts be in rivers sooner in season: and as some hollies or oaks are longer before they cast their leaves, so are some Trouts in rivers longer before they go out of season.

And you are to note, that there are several kinds of Trouts; but these several kinds are not considered but

by very few men, for they go under the general name of Trouts ; just as Pigeons do in most places ; though it is certain there are tame and wild Pigeons : and of the tame, there be Helmits and Runts, and Carriers and Cropers, and indeed too many to name. Nay, the Royal Society have found and published lately, that there be thirty and three kinds of Spiders : and yet all, for aught I know, go under that one general name of Spider. And 'tis so with many kinds of fish, and of Trouts especially, which differ in their bigness, and shape, and spots, and color. The great Kentish Hens may be an instance compared to other hens ; and doubtless there is a kind of small Trout, which will never thrive to be big, that breeds very many more than others do that be of a larger size ; which you may rather believe, if you consider that the little Wren or Titmouse will have twenty young ones at a time, when usually the noble Hawk, or the musical Thrassel or Blackbird, exceed not four or five.

And now you shall see me try my skill to catch a Trout, and at my next walking, either this evening or to-morrow morning, I will give you direction how you yourself shall fish for him.

Ven. Trust me, Master, I see now it is a harder matter to catch a Trout than a Chub : for I have put on patience, and followed you these two hours, and not seen a fish stir, neither at your minnow nor your worm.

Pisc. Well, Scholar, you must endure worse luck some time, or you will never make a good Angler. But what say you now ? there is a Trout now, and a good one too, if I can but hold him, and two or three turns more will tire him. Now you see he lies still, and the sleight is to land him : reach me that landing-net. So, Sir, now he is mine own, what say you now ? is not this worth all my labor and your patience ?

Ven. On my word, Master, this is a gallant Trout ; what shall we do with him ?

Pisc. Marry, e'en eat him to supper : we'll go to my

Hostess, from whence we came: she told me, as I was going out of door, that my brother Peter, a good Angler and a cheerful companion, had sent word he would lodge there to-night, and bring a friend with him. My Hostess has two beds, and I know you and I may have the best; we'll rejoice with my brother Peter and his friend, tell tales, or sing ballads, or make a catch, or find some harmless sport to content us, and pass away a little time without offence to God or man.

Ven. A match, good Master: let's go to that house, for the linen looks white, and smells of lavender, and I long to lie in a pair of sheets that smell so. Let's be going, good Master, for I am hungry again with fishing.

Pisc. Nay, stay a little, good Scholar: I caught my last Trout with a worm; now I will put on a minnow and try a quarter of an hour about yonder trees for another, and so walk towards our lodging. Look you, Scholar, thereabout we shall have a bite presently, or not at all. Have with you, Sir! o' my word, I have hold of him. Oh! it is a great loggerheaded Chub; come, hang him upon that willow-twig, and let's be going. But turn out of the way a little, good Scholar, towards yonder high honeysuckle hedge; there we'll sit and sing whilst this shower falls so gently upon the teeming earth, and gives yet a sweeter smell to the lovely flowers that adorn these verdant meadows.

Look, under that broad beech-tree I sat down, when I was last this way a-fishing, and the birds in the adjoining grove seemed to have a friendly contention with an echo, whose dead voice seemed to live in a hollow tree, near to the brow of that primrose hill; there I sat viewing the silver streams glide silently towards their centre, the tempestuous sea; yet sometimes opposed by rugged roots, and pebble-stones, which broke their waves, and turned them into foam: and sometimes I beguiled time by viewing the harmless lambs, some leaping securely in the cool shade,

whilst others sported themselves in the cheerful sun; and saw others craving comfort from the swollen udders of their bleating dams. As I thus sat, these and other sights had so fully possessed my soul with content, that I thought, as the poet has happily expressed it,

> "I was for that time lifted above earth,
> And possessed joys not promised in my birth."

As I left this place, and entered into the next field, a second pleasure entertained me; 'twas a handsome Milk-maid that had not yet attained so much age and wisdom as to load her mind with any fears of many things that will never be, as too many men too often do; but she cast away all care, and sung like a nightingale. Her voice was good, and the ditty fitted for it; 'twas that smooth song, which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago: and the Milk-maid's mother sung an answer to it, which was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days.

They were old-fashioned poetry, but choicely good, I think much better than the strong lines that are now in fashion in this critical age. Look yonder! on my word, yonder they both be a-milking again. I will give her the Chub, and persuade them to sing those two songs to us.

God speed you, good woman! I have been a-fishing, and am going to Bleak Hall to my bed; and having caught more fish than will sup myself and my friend, I will bestow this upon you and your daughter, for I use to sell none.

Milk-W. Marry, God requite you! Sir, and we'll eat it cheerfully; and if you come this way a-fishing two months hence, a-grace of God I'll give you a syllabub of new verjuice in a new-made hay-cock for it, and my Maudlin shall sing you one of her best ballads; for she and I both love all Anglers, they be

such honest, civil, quiet men. In the mean time will you drink a draught of red cow's milk? you shall have it freely.

Pisc. No, I thank you; but I pray do us a courtesy that shall stand you and your daughter in nothing, and yet we will think ourselves still something in your debt: it is but to sing us a song that was sung by your daughter when I last passed over this meadow, about eight or nine days since.

Milk-W. What song was it, I pray? Was it "Come, Shepherds, deck your herds"? or, "As at noon Dulcina rested"? or, "Philida flouts me"? or, Chevy Chace? or, Johnny Armstrong? or, Troy Town?

Pisc. No, it is none of those: it is a song that your daughter sung the first part, and you sung the answer to it.

Milk-W. O, I know it now; I learned the first part in my golden age, when I was about the age of my poor daughter; and the latter part, which indeed fits me best now, but two or three years ago, when the cares of the world began to take hold of me: but you shall, God willing, hear them both, and sung as well as we can, for we both love Anglers. Come, Maudlin, sing the first part to the gentlemen with a merry heart, and I'll sing the second, when you have done.

The Milk-maid's Song

"Come, live with me, and be my love,
And we will all the pleasure prove
That valleys, groves, or hills, or field
Or woods and steepy mountains yield.

Where we will sit upon the rocks,
And see the shepherds feed our flocks,
By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

And I will make thee beds of roses,
And then a thousand fragrant posies ;
A cap of flowers, and a kirtle
Embroidered all with leaves of myrtle.

A gown made of the finest wool,
Which from our pretty lambs we pull ;
Slippers lined choicely for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold ;

A belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps and amber studs ;
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come, live with me, and be my love.

Thy silver dishes for thy meat,
As precious as the gods do eat,
Shall on an ivory table be
Prepared each day for thee and me.

The shepherd swains shall dance and sing
For thy delight each May morning :
If these delights thy mind may move,
Then live with me, and be my love."

Ven. Trust me, Master, it is a choice song, and sweetly sung by honest Maudlin. I now see it was not without cause that our good Queen Elizabeth did so often wish herself a Milk-maid all the month of May, because they are not troubled with fears and cares, but sing sweetly all the day, and sleep securely all the night : and, without doubt, honest, innocent, pretty Maudlin does so. I'll bestow Sir Thomas Overbury's Milk-maid's wish upon her—"that she may die in the Spring ; and, being dead, may have good store of flowers stuck round about her winding-sheet."

The Milk-maid's Mother's Answer

" If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

But time drives flocks from field to fold :
When rivers rage, and rocks grow cold,
Then Philomel becometh dumb,
And age complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
To wayward Winter reckoning yields :
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten ;
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw, and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps and amber studs,
All these in me no means can move
To come to thee, and be thy love.

What should we talk of dainties then,
Of better meat than's fit for men ?
These are but vain : that's only good
Which God hath blest, and sent for food.

But could youth last, and love still breed,
Had joys no date, nor age no need—
Then those delights my mind might move,
To live with thee, and be thy love."

Mother. Well, I have done my song. But stay, honest Anglers, for I will make Maudlin to sing you one short song more. Maudlin, sing that song that you sung last night, when young Coridon the Shepherd played so purely on his oaten pipe to you and your Cousin Retty.

Maud. I will, Mother.

" I married a wife of late,
The more's my unhappy fate :
I married her for love,
As my fancy did me move,
And not for a worldly estate :

But oh ! the green-sickness
Soon changed her likeness,
And all her beauty did fail.
But 'tis not so
With those that go
Through frost and snow,
As all men know,
And carry the milking-pail."

Pisc. Well sung ! Good woman, I thank you. I'll give you another dish of fish one of these days ; and then beg another song of you. Come, Scholar, let Maudlin alone : do not you offer to spoil her voice. Look ! yonder comes mine Hostess, to call us to supper. How now ! is my brother Peter come ?

Host. Yes, and a friend with him ; they are both glad to hear that you are in these parts, and long to see you, and long to be at supper, for they be very hungry.

More Directions how to fish for, and how to make for the Trout an Artificial Minnow and Flies, with some Merriment.

Piscator. Well met, Brother Peter ! I heard you and a friend would lodge here to-night, and that hath made me to bring my friend to lodge here too. My friend is one that would fain be a Brother of the Angle: he hath been an Angler but this day, and I have taught him how to catch a Chub by daping with a grasshopper ; and the Chub he caught was a lusty one of nineteen inches long. But pray, Brother Peter, who is your companion ?

Peter. Brother Piscator, my friend is an honest Countryman, and his name is Coridon, and he is a downright witty companion, that met me here purposely to be pleasant and eat a Trout ; and I have not yet wetted my line since we met together : but

I hope to fit him with a Trout for his breakfast, for I'll be early up.

Pisc. Nay, brother, you shall not stay so long: for look you! here is a Trout will fill six reasonable bellies.

Come, Hostess, dress it presently, and get us what other meat the house will afford, and give us some of your best barley-wine, the good liquor that our honest forefathers did use to drink of: the drink which preserved their health, and made them live so long, and to do so many good deeds.

Pet. O' my word, this Trout is perfect in season. Come, I thank you, and here is a hearty draught to you, and to all the Brothers of the Angle wheresoever they be, and to my young brother's good fortune to-morrow. I will furnish him with a rod, if you will furnish him with the rest of the tackling; we will set him up and make him a fisher. And I will tell him one thing for his encouragement, that his fortune hath made him happy to be scholar to such a master; a master that knows as much both of the nature and breeding of fish as any man: and can also tell him as well how to catch and cook them, from the Minnow to the Salmon, as any that I ever met withal.

Pisc. Trust me, Brother Peter, I find my Scholar to be so suitable to my own humour, which is to be free, and pleasant, and civilly merry, that my resolution is to hide nothing that I know from him. Believe me, Scholar, this is my resolution; and so here's to you a hearty draught, and to all that love us, and the honest art of Angling.

Ven. Trust me, good Master, you shall not sow your seed in barren ground; for I hope to return you an increase answerable to your hopes: but, however, you shall find me obedient, and thankful, and serviceable to my best ability.

Pisc. 'Tis enough, honest Scholar: come, let's to supper. Come, my friend Coridon, this Trout looks lovely; it was twenty-two inches when it was taken;

and the belly of it looked, some part of it as yellow as a marigold, and part of it as white as a lily; and yet methinks it looks better in this good sauce.

Coridon. Indeed, honest friend, it looks well, and tastes well: I thank you for it, and so doth my friend Peter, or else he is to blame.

Pet. Yes, and so I do: we all thank you, and when we have supped I will get my friend Coridon to sing you a song for requital.

Cor. I will sing a song, if anybody will sing another; else, to be plain with you, I will sing none: I am none of those that sing for meat, but for company. I say, "'Tis merry in hall, when men sing all."

Pisc. I'll promise you I'll sing a song that was lately made, at my request, by Mr. William Basse, one that hath made the choice songs of the "Hunter in his career," and of "Tom of Bedlam," and many others of note; and this that I will sing is in praise of Angling.

Cor. And then mine shall be the praise of a country-man's life. What will the rest sing of?

Pet. I will promise you, I will sing another song in praise of Angling to-morrow night; for we will not part till then; but fish to-morrow, and sup together, and the next day every man leave fishing, and fall to his business.

Ven. 'Tis a match; and I will provide you a song or a catch against then, too, which shall give some addition of mirth to the company; for we will be civil, and as merry as beggars.

Pisc. 'Tis a match, my masters. Let's even say grace, and turn to the fire, drink the other cup to wet our whistles, and so sing away all sad thoughts.

Come on, my masters, who begins? I think it is best to draw cuts, and avoid contention.

Pet. It is a match. Look, the shortest cut falls to Coridon.

Cor. Well then, I will begin, for I hate contention.

Coridon's Song

" O the sweet contentment
The countryman doth find !
Heigh trololie lollie loe,
Heigh trololie lee,
That quiet contemplation
Possesseth all my mind :
Then care away,
And wend along with me.

For courts are full of flattery,
As hath too oft been tried ;
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
The city full of wantonness,
And both are full of pride :
Then care away, etc.

But oh ! the honest countryman
Speaks truly from his heart,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
His pride is in his tillage,
His horses, and his cart :
Then care away, etc.

Our clothing is good sheep-skins,
Gray russet for our wives,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
'Tis warmth, and not gay clothing
That doth prolong our lives ;
Then care away, etc.

The ploughman, though he labor hard,
Yet on the holiday,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
No emperor so merrily
Does pass his time away :
Then care away, etc.

To recompense our tillage,
The heavens afford us showers,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
And for our sweet refreshments
The earth affords us bowers :
Then care away, etc.

The cuckoo and the nightingale
Full merrily do sing,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
And with their pleasant roundelays
Bid welcome to the spring :
Then care away, etc.

This is not half the happiness
The countryman enjoys,
Heigh trololie lollie loe, etc.
Though others think they have as much,
Yet he that says so lies :
Then come away, turn,
Countryman, with me."

Jo. Chalkhill.

Pisc. Well sung ! Coridon, this song was sung with mettle ; and it was choicely fitted to the occasion : I shall love you for it as long as I know you. I would you were a Brother of the Angle, for a companion that is cheerful, and free from swearing and scurrilous discourse, is worth gold. I love such mirth as does not make friends ashamed to look upon one another next morning ; nor men, that cannot well bear it, to repent the money they spend when they be warmed with drink. And take this for a rule, you may pick out such times and such companies, that you make yourselves merrier for a little than a great deal of money ; for " 'Tis the company and not the charge that makes the feast " : and such a companion you prove ; I thank you for it.

But I will not compliment you out of the debt that I owe you, and therefore I will begin my song, and wish it may be so well liked.

The Angler's Song

"As inward love breeds outward talk
The hound some praise, and some the hawk:
Some, better pleased with private sport,
Use tennis, some a mistress court:
But these delights I neither wish
Nor envy, while I freely fish.

Who hunts, doth oft in danger ride;
Who hawks, lures oft both far and wide:
Who uses games shall often prove
A loser; but who falls in love
Is fettered in fond Cupid's snare:
My angle breeds me no such care.

Of recreation there is none
So free as Fishing is alone;
All other pastimes do no less
Than mind and body both possess:
My hand alone my work can do,
So I can fish and study too.

I care not, I, to fish in seas;
Fresh rivers best my mind do please,
Whose sweet calm course I contemplate,
And seek in life to imitate:
In civil bounds I fain would keep,
And for my past offences weep.

And when the timorous Trout I wait
To take, and he devours my bait,
How poor a thing sometimes I find
Will captivate a greedy mind!
And when none bite, I praise the wise,
Whom vain allurements ne'er surprise.

But yet, though while I fish I fast,
I make good fortune my repast;
And thereunto my friend invite,
In whom I more than that delight:
Who is more welcome to my dish
Than to my angle was my fish,

As well content no prize to take
As use of taken prize to make :
For so our Lord was pleased when
He fishers made fishers of men :
Where, which is in no other game,
A man may fish and praise His name.

The first men that our Saviour dear
Did choose to wait upon him here
Blest fishers were, and fish the last
Food was that he on earth did taste :
I therefore strive to follow those
Whom He to follow Him hath chose."

Cor. Well sung, Brother ! you have paid your debt in good coin. We Anglers are all beholden to the good man that made this song. Come, Hostess, give us more ale, and let's drink to him.

And now let's every one go to bed that we may rise early : but first let's pay our reckoning, for I will have nothing to hinder me in the morning ; for my purpose is to prevent the sun rising.

Pet. A match. Come, Coridon, you are to be my bed-fellow : I know, Brother, you and your Scholar will lie together. But where shall we meet to-morrow night ? for my friend Coridon and I will go up the water towards Ware.

Pisc. And my Scholar and I will go down towards Waltham.

Cor. Then let's meet here, for here are fresh sheets that smell of lavender ; and I am sure we cannot expect better meat or better usage in any place.

Pet. 'Tis a match. Good night to everybody !

Pisc. And so say I.

Ven. And so say I.

Prevent, go before or precede.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS"

[John Bunyan, the son of a tinker, was born at Elstow in 1628, and educated at Bedford Grammar School. During the Civil War he was first a soldier and then a Nonconformist preacher; at the Restoration he was the first Dissenter imprisoned under the law against unlicensed preaching. He remained twelve years in a fairly easy captivity, then became pastor of the Bedford Baptist Chapel in 1672, and in 1678 published the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*: the second part followed in 1684. Bunyan was essentially a poet, of strong creative imagination: the persons of his allegorical romance, though they are named as simple types, still have life enough to bear out their allotted parts and to remain in the memory. This, and his perfect adaptation of the Biblical English to the purpose of his romance, placed him at once among the greatest writers of his time, and ensured his fame in the ages to come. In our own day, when we have almost ceased to aim at salvation by flight, the *Pilgrim's Progress* still retains much of its truth, and all its imaginative power.]

1. The Hill Difficulty, Lions in the Way, and the House Beautiful

THEN I saw that they went on all, save that Christian kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that sometimes sighingly, and sometimes comfortably; also he would be often reading in the roll that one of the Shining Ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.

I beheld then, that they all went on till they came to the foot of the Hill Difficulty; at the bottom of which was a spring. There were also in the same place

two other ways besides that which came straight from the gate ; one turned to the left hand, and the other to the right, at the bottom of the hill ; but the narrow way lay right up the hill, and the name of the going up the side of the hill is called Difficulty. Christian now went to the spring, and drank thereof, to refresh himself, and then began to go up the hill, saying :—

The hill, though high, I covet to ascend,
The difficulty will not me offend ;
For I perceive the way to life lies here.
Come, pluck up heart, let's neither faint nor fear ,
Better, though difficult, the right way to go,
Than wrong, though easy, where the end is woe.

The other two also came to the foot of the hill ; but when they saw that the hill was steep and high, and that there were two other ways to go ; and supposing also that these two ways might meet again, with that up which Christian went, on the other side of the hill : therefore they were resolved to go in those ways. Now the name of one of those ways was Danger, and the name of the other Destruction. So the one took the way which is called Danger, which led him into a great wood, and the other took directly up the way to Destruction, which led him into a wide field, full of dark mountains, where he stumbled and fell, and rose no more.

Shall they who wrong begin yet rightly end ?
Shall they at all have safety for their friend ?
No, no ; in headstrong manner they set out,
And headlong will they fall at last no doubt.

I looked then after Christian, to see him go up the hill, where I perceived he fell from running to going, and from going to clambering upon his hands and his knees, because of the steepness of the place. Now, about the midway to the top of the hill was a pleasant

arbour, made by the Lord of the hill for the refreshing of weary travellers; thither, therefore, Christian got, where also he sat down to rest him. Then he pulled his roll out of his bosom, and read therein to his comfort; he also now began afresh to take a review of the coat or garment that was given him as he stood by the cross. Thus pleasing himself awhile, he at last fell into a slumber, and thence into a fast sleep, which detained him in that place until it was almost night; and in his sleep his roll fell out of his hand. Now, as he was sleeping, there came one to him, and awaked him, saying, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise." And with that Christian started up, and sped him on his way, and went apace, till he came to the top of the hill.

Now, when he was got up to the top of the hill, there came two men running to meet him amain; the name of the one was Timorous, and of the other, Mistrust; to whom Christian said, Sirs, what's the matter? You run the wrong way. Timorous answered, that they were going to the City of Zion, and had got up that difficult place; but, said he, the further we go, the more danger we meet with; wherefore we turned, and are going back again.

Yes, said Mistrust, for just before us lie a couple of lions in the way, whether sleeping or waking we know not, and we could not think, if we came within reach, but they would presently pull us in pieces.

Chr. Then said Christian, You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? If I go back to mine own country, that is prepared for fire and brimstone, and I shall certainly perish there. If I can get to the Celestial City, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture. To go back is nothing but death; to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it. I will yet go forward. So Mistrust and Timorous ran down the hill, and Christian went on his way. But, thinking again of what he

had heard from the men, he felt in his bosom for his roll, that he might read therein, and be comforted; but he felt, and found it not. Then was Christian in great distress, and knew not what to do; for he wanted that which used to relieve him, and that which should have been his pass into the Celestial City. Here, therefore, he began to be much perplexed, and knew not what to do. At last he bethought himself that he had slept in the arbour that is on the side of the hill; and, falling down upon his knees, he asked God's forgiveness for that his foolish act, and then went back to look for his roll. But all the way he went back, who can sufficiently set forth the sorrow of Christian's heart! Sometimes he sighed, sometimes he wept, and oftentimes he chid himself for being so foolish to fall asleep in that place, which was erected only for a little refreshment for his weariness. Thus, therefore, he went back, carefully looking on this side, and on that, all the way as he went, if happily he might find his roll, that had been his comfort so many times in his journey. He went thus, till he came again within sight of the arbour where he sat and slept; but that sight renewed his sorrow the more, by bringing again, even afresh, his evil of sleeping into his mind. Thus, therefore, he now went on bewailing his sinful sleep, saying, "O wretched man that I am!" that I should sleep in the day-time! that I should sleep in the midst of difficulty! that I should so indulge the flesh, as to use that rest for ease to my flesh, which the Lord of the hill hath erected only for the relief of the spirits of pilgrims!

How many steps have I took in vain! Thus it happened to Israel, for their sin; they were sent back again by the way of the Red Sea; and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow, which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep. How far might I have been on my way by this time! I am made to tread those steps thrice over, which

I needed not to have trod but once; yea, now also I am like to be benighted, for the day is almost spent. O that I had not slept!

Now, by this time he was come to the arbour again, where for a while he sat down and wept; but at last, as Christian would have it, looking sorrowfully down under the settle, there he espied his roll; the which he, with trembling and haste, catched up, and put it into his bosom. But who can tell how joyful this man was when he had gotten his roll again! for this roll was the assurance of his life and acceptance at the desired haven. Therefore, he laid it up in his bosom, gave thanks to God for directing his eye to the place where it lay, and with joy and tears betook himself again to his journey. But, oh, how nimbly now did he go up the rest of the hill! Yet, before he got up, the sun went down upon Christian; and this made him again recall the vanity of his sleeping to his remembrance; and thus he again began to condole with himself. O thou sinful sleep: how, for thy sake, am I like to be benighted in my journey! I must walk without the sun; darkness must cover the path of my feet; and I must hear the noise of the doleful creatures, because of my sinful sleep. Now also he remembered the story that Mistrust and Timorous told him of, how they were frighted with the sight of the lions. Then said Christian to himself again, These beasts range in the night for their prey, and if they should meet with me in the dark, how should I shift them? How should I escape being by them torn in pieces? Thus he went on his way. But while he was thus bewailing his unhappy miscarriage he lift up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately palace before him, the name of which was Beautiful; and it stood just by the highway side.

So I saw in my dream that he made haste, and went forward that if possible he might get lodging there. Now, before he had gone far, he entered into a very

narrow passage, which was about a furlong off the porter's lodge ; and looking very narrowly before him as he went, he espied two lions in the way. Now, thought he, I see the dangers that Mistrust and Timorous were driven back by. (The lions were chained, but he saw not the chains.) Then he was afraid, and thought also himself to go back after them, for he thought nothing but death was before him. But the porter at the lodge, whose name is Watchful, perceiving that Christian made a halt as if he would go back, cried unto him, saying, Is thy strength so small ? Fear not the lions, for they are chained, and are placed there for trial of faith where it is, and for discovery of those that had none. Keep in the midst of the path, and no hurt shall come unto thee.

> Difficulty is behind, Fear is before,
> Though he's got on the hill, the lions roar ;
> A Christian man is never long at ease,
> When one fright's gone, another doth him seize.

Then I saw that he went on, trembling for fear of the lions, but taking good heed to the directions of the porter ; he heard them roar, but they did him no harm.

Then he clapped his hands and went on till he came and stood before the gate where the porter was. Then said Christian to the porter, Sir, what house is this ? And may I lodge here to-night ? The porter answered, This house was built by the Lord of the hill, and he built it for the relief and security of pilgrims. The porter also asked whence he was, and whither he was going.

Chr. I am come from the City of Destruction, and am going to Mount Zion ; but because the sun is now set, I desire, if I may, to lodge here to-night.

Por. What is your name ?

Chr. My name is now Christian, but my name at

the first was Graceless. I came of the race of Japheth, whom God will persuade to dwell in the tents of Shem.

Por. But how doth it happen that you come so late? The sun is set.

Chr. I had been here sooner, but that, "wretched man that I am!" I slept in the arbour that stands on the hill-side; nay, I had, notwithstanding that, been here much sooner, but that, in my sleep, I lost my evidence, and came without it to the brow of the hill; and then feeling for it, and finding it not, I was forced, with sorrow of heart, to go back to the place where I slept my sleep, where I found it, and now I am come.

Por. Well, I will call out one of the virgins of this place, who will, if she likes your talk, bring you in to the rest of the family, according to the rules of the house.

So Watchful, the porter, rang a bell, at the sound of which came out at the door of the house a grave and beautiful damsel, named Discretion, and asked why she was called.

The porter answered, This man is on a journey from the City of Destruction to Mount Zion, but being weary and benighted, he asked me if he might lodge here to-night; so I told him I would call for thee, who, after discourse had with him, mayest do as seemeth thee good, even according to the law of the house.

Then she asked him whence he was, and whither he was going; and he told her. She asked him also how he got into the way; and he told her. Then she asked him what he had seen and met with in the way; and he told her. And last she asked his name; so he said, It is Christian, and I have so much the more a desire to lodge here to-night, because by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the hill, for the relief and security of pilgrims. So she smiled, but the water stood in her eyes; and after a little pause, she said, I will call forth two or three more of

the family. So she ran to the door, and called out Prudence, Piety, and Charity, who, after a little more discourse with him, had him into the family; and many of them, meeting him at the threshold of the house, said, "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord;" this house was built by the Lord of the hill on purpose, to entertain such pilgrims in. So when he was come in and sat down, they gave him something to drink, and consented together, that until supper was ready, some of them should have some particular discourse with Christian, for the best improvement of time; and they appointed Piety and Prudence and Charity to discourse with him.

2. The Delectable Mountains, the Valley of Humiliation, and the Fight with Apollyon

Then I saw in my dream, that on the morrow he got up to go forward; but they desired him to stay till the next day also; and then, said they, we will, if the day be clear, show you the Delectable Mountains, which, they said, would yet further add to his comfort, because they were nearer the desired haven than the place where at present he was; so he consented and stayed. When the morning was up, they had him to the top of the house, and bade him look south; so he did: and behold, at a great distance, he saw a most pleasant mountainous country, beautified with woods, vineyards, fruits of all sorts, flowers also, with springs and fountains, very delectable to behold. Then he asked the name of the country. They said it was Immanuel's Land; and it is as common, said they, as this hill is, to and for all the pilgrims. And when thou comest there from hence, said they, thou mayest see to the gate of the Celestial City, as the shepherds that live there will make appear.

Now he bethought himself of setting forward, and they were willing he should. But first, said they, let us go again into the armoury. So they did; and when they came there, they harnessed him from head to foot with what was of proof, lest, perhaps, he should meet with assaults in the way. He being, therefore, thus accoutred, walketh out with his friends to the gate, and there he asked the porter if he saw any pilgrims pass by. Then the porter answered, Yes.

Chr. Pray, did you know him? said he.

Por. I asked him his name, and he told me it was Faithful.

Chr. Oh, said Christian, I know him; he is my townsman, my near neighbour; he comes from the place where I was born. How far do you think he may be before?

Por. He is got by this time below the hill.

Chr. Well, said Christian, good Porter, the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness that thou hast showed to me.

Then he began to go forward; but Discretion, Piety, Charity, and Prudence would accompany him down to the foot of the hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses, till they came to go down the hill. Then said Christian, As it was difficult coming up, so, so far as I can see, it is dangerous going down. Yes, said Prudence, so it is, for it is a hard matter for a man to go down into the Valley of Humiliation, as thou art now, and to catch no slip by the way; therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the hill. So he began to go down, but very warily; yet he caught a slip or two.

Then I saw in my dream that these good companions, when Christian was gone to the bottom of the hill, gave him a loaf of bread, a bottle of wine, and a cluster of raisins; and then he went on his way.

But now, in this Valley of Humiliation, poor Chris-

tian was hard put to it ; for he had gone but a little way, before he espied a foul fiend coming over the field to meet him ; his name is Apollyon. Then did Christian begin to be afraid, and to cast in his mind whether to go back or to stand his ground. But he considered again that he had no armour for his back ; and therefore thought that to turn the back to him might give him the greater advantage with ease to pierce him with his darts. Therefore he resolved to venture and stand his ground ; for, thought he, had I no more in mine eye than the saving of my life, it would be the best way to stand.

So he went on, and Apollyon met him. Now the monster was hideous to behold ; he was clothed with scales, like a fish (and they are his pride), he had wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, and out of his belly came fire and smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion. When he was come up to Christian he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

Apol. Whence come you ? and whither are you bound ?

Chr. I am come from the City of Destruction, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of Zion.

Apol. By this I perceive thou art one of my subjects, for all that country is mine, and I am the prince and god of it. How is it then, that thou hast run away from thy king ? Were it not that I hope thou mayest do me more service, I would strike thee now, at one blow, to the ground.

Chr. I was born, indeed, in your dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, " for the wages of sin is death ; " therefore, when I was come to years, I did as other considerate persons do, look out, if perhaps, I might mend myself.

Apol. There is no prince that will thus lightly lose

his subjects, neither will I as yet lose thee; but since thou complainest of thy service and wages, be content to go back: what our country will afford, I do here promise to give thee.

Chr. But I have let myself to another, even to the King of princes; and how can I, with fairness, go back with thee?

Apol. Thou hast done in this, according to the proverb, "Changed a bad for a worse;" but it is ordinary for those that have professed themselves his servants, after a while to give him the slip, and return again to me. Do thou so too, and all shall be well.

Chr. I have given him my faith, and sworn my allegiance to him; how, then, can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a traitor?

Apol. Thou didst the same to me, and yet I am willing to pass by all, if thou wilt yet turn again and go back.

Chr. What I promised thee was in my nonage; and, besides, I count the Prince under whose banner now I stand is able to absolve me; yea, and to pardon also what I did as to my compliance with thee; and besides, O thou destroying Apollyon! to speak truth, I like his service, his wages, his servants, his government, his company and country, better than thine; and, therefore, leave off to persuade me further: I am his servant, and I will follow him.

Apol. Consider again, when thou art in cool blood, what thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest. Thou knowest that, for the most part, his servants come to an ill end, because they are transgressors against me and my ways. How many of them have been put to shameful deaths; and, besides, thou countest his service better than mine, whereas he never came yet from the place where he is to deliver any that served him out of their hands; but as for me, how many times, as all the world very well knows, have I delivered, either by power, or

fraud, those that have faithfully served me, from him and his, though taken by them; and so I will deliver thee.

Chr. His forbearing at present to deliver them is on purpose to try their love, whether they will cleave to him to the end; and as for the ill end thou sayest they come to, that is most glorious in their account; for, for present deliverance, they do not much expect it, for they stay for their glory, and then they shall have it, when their Prince comes in his and the glory of the angels.

Apol. Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him; and how dost thou think to receive wages of him?

Chr. Wherein, O Apollyon! have I been unfaithful to him?

Apol. Thou didst faint at first setting out, when thou wast almost choked in the Gulf of Despond; thou didst attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy burden, whereas thou shouldest have stayed till thy Prince had taken it off; thou didst sinfully sleep and lose thy choice thing; thou wast, also, almost persuaded to go back, at the sight of the lions; and when thou talkest of thy journey, and of what thou hast heard and seen, thou art inwardly desirous of vainglory in all that thou sayest or doest.

Chr. All this is true, and much more which thou hast left out; but the Prince whom I serve and honour is merciful, and ready to forgive; but besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy country, for there I sucked them in; and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and I have obtained pardon of my Prince.

Apol. Then Apollyon broke out into a grievous rage, saying, I am an enemy to this Prince; I hate his person, his laws, and people; I am come out on purpose to withstand thee.

Chr. Apollyon, beware what you do; for I am in

the king's highway, the way of holiness; therefore take heed to yourself.

Apol. Then Apollyon straddled quite over the whole breadth of the way and said, I am void of fear in this matter: prepare thyself to die; for I swear by my infernal den, that thou shalt go no further; here will I spill thy soul.

And with that he threw a flaming dart at his breast; but Christian had a shield in his hand, with which he caught it, and so prevented the danger of that.

Then did Christian draw, for he saw it was time to bestir him: and Apollyon as fast made at him, throwing darts as thick as hail; by the which, notwithstanding all that Christian could do to avoid it, Apollyon wounded him in his head, his hand, and foot. This made Christian give a little back; Apollyon, therefore, followed his work amain, and Christian again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could. This sore combat lasted for above half a day, even till Christian was almost quite spent; for you must know that Christian, by reason of his wounds, must needs grow weaker and weaker.

Then Apollyon, espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to Christian, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that Christian's sword flew out of his hand. Then said Apollyon, I am sure of thee now. And with that he had almost pressed him to death, so that Christian began to despair of his life: but as God would have it, while Apollyon was fetching of his last blow, thereby to make a full end of this good man, Christian nimbly stretched out his hand for his sword, and caught it, saying, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: when I fall I shall arise;" and with that gave him a deadly thrust which made him give back, as one that had received his mortal wound. Christian perceiving that, made at him again, saying, "Nay, in

all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us." And with that Apollyon spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away, that Christian for a season saw him no more.

In this combat no man can imagine, unless he had seen and heard as I did, what yelling and hideous roaring Apollyon made all the time of the fight—he spake like a dragon ; and, on the other side, what sighs and groans burst from Christian's heart. I never saw him all the while give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded Apollyon with his two-edged sword ; then, indeed, he did smile, and look upward ; but it was the dreadfullest sight that ever I saw.

A more unequal match can hardly be,—
Christian must fight an angel ; but you see,
The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield,
Doth make him, though a Dragon, quit the field.

At this, Christian was somewhat moved, and putting to all his strength, he quickly got up with Faithful, and did also overrun him ; so the last was first. Then did Christian vaingloriously smile, because he had gotten the start of his brother ; but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again until Faithful came up to help him.

Then I saw in my dream they went very lovingly on together, and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their pilgrimage.

3. Vanity Fair

Then I saw in my dream that when they were got out of the wilderness they presently saw a town before them, and the name of that town is Vanity ; and

at the town there is a fair kept, called Vanity Fair: it is kept all the year long; it beareth the name of Vanity Fair because the town where it is kept is lighter than vanity; and also because all that is there sold, or that cometh thither, is vanity. As is the saying of the wise, "All that cometh is vanity."

This fair is no new-erected business, but a thing of ancient standing: I will show you the original of it.

Almost five thousand years agone, there were pilgrims walking to the Celestial City, as these two honest persons are: and Beelzebub, Apollyon, and Legion, with their companions, perceiving by the path that the pilgrims made, that their way to the city lay through this town of Vanity, they contrived here to set up a fair; a fair wherein should be sold all sorts of vanity, and that it should last all the year long: therefore at this fair are all such merchandise sold, as houses, lands, trades, places, honours, preferments, titles, countries, kingdoms, lusts, pleasures, and delights of all sorts, as whores, bawds, wives, husbands, children, masters, servants, lives, blood, bodies, souls, silver, gold, pearls, precious stones, and what not.

And moreover, at this fair, there is at all times to be seen juggling, cheats, games, plays, fools, apes, knaves, and rogues, and that of every kind.

Here are to be seen, too, and that for nothing, thefts, murders, adulteries, false swearers, and that of a blood-red colour.

And as in other fairs of less moment, there are the several rows and streets, under their proper names, where such and such wares are vended; so here likewise you have the proper places, rows, streets (viz. countries and kingdoms), where the wares of this fair are soonest to be found. Here is the Britain Row, the French Row, the Italian Row, the Spanish Row, the German Row, where several sorts of vanities are to be sold. But as in other fairs, some one com-

modity is as the chief of all the fair, so the ware of Rome and her merchandise is greatly promoted in this fair ; only our English nation, with some others, have taken a dislike thereat.

Now, as I said, the way to the Celestial City lies just through this town where this lusty fair is kept ; and he that will go to the City, and yet not go through this town, must needs "go out of the world." The Prince of princes himself, when here, went through this town to his own country, and that upon a fair day too ; yea, and as I think, it was Beelzebub, the chief lord of this fair, that invited him to buy of his vanities ; yea, would have made him lord of the fair, would he but have done him reverence as he went through the town. Yea, because he was such a person of honour, Beelzebub had him from street to street, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world in a little time, that he might if possible allure the Blessed One to cheapen and buy some of his vanities ; but he had no mind to the merchandise, and therefore left the town, without laying out so much as one farthing upon these vanities. This fair, therefore, is an ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great fair. Now these pilgrims, as I said, must needs go through this fair. Well, so they did : but, behold, even as they entered into the fair all the people in the fair were moved, and the town itself, as it were, in a hubbub about them ; and that for several reasons ; for—

First, The pilgrims were clothed with such kind of raiment as was diverse from the raiment of any that traded in that fair. The people, therefore, of the fair, made a great gazing upon them : some said they were fools, some they were bedlams, and some they are outlandish men.

Secondly, And as they wondered at their apparel, so they did likewise at their speech : for few could understand what they said ; they naturally spoke

the language of Canaan, but they that kept the fair were men of this world ; so that, from one end of the fair to the other, they seemed barbarians each to the other.

Thirdly, But that which did not a little amuse the merchandisers was, that these pilgrims set very light by all their wares ; they cared not so much as to look upon them ; and if they called upon them to buy, they would put their fingers in their ears, and cry, " Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity," and look upwards, signifying that their trade and traffic was in heaven.

One chanced mockingly, beholding the carriage of the men, to say unto them, What will ye buy ? But they, looking gravely upon him, answered, " We buy the truth." At that there was an occasion taken to despise the men the more ; some mocking, some taunting, some speaking reproachfully, and some calling upon others to smite them. At last things came to a hubbub and great stir in the fair, insomuch that all order was confounded. Now was word presently brought to the great one of the fair, who quickly came down, and deputed some of his most trusty friends to take these men into examination, about whom the fair was almost overturned. So the men were brought to examination ; and they that sat upon them, asked them whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there in such an unusual garb ? The men told them that they were pilgrims and strangers in the world, and that they were going to their own country, which was the heavenly Jerusalem ; and that they had given no occasion to the men of the town, nor yet to the merchandisers, thus to abuse them, and to let them in their journey, except it was for that, when one asked them what they would buy, they said they would buy the truth. But they that were appointed to examine them did not believe them to be any other than bedlams and mad, or else such

as came to put all things into a confusion in the fair. Therefore they took them and beat them, and besmeared them with dirt, and then put them into the cage, that they might be made a spectacle to all the men of the fair.

> Behold, Vanity Fair, the Pilgrims there
> Are chained and stand beside :
> Even so it was our Lord passed here,
> And on Mount Calvary died.

There, therefore, they lay for some time, and were made the objects of any man's sport, or malice, or revenge, the great one of the fair laughing still at all that befell them. But the men being patient, and not rendering railing for railing, but contrariwise, blessing, and giving good words for bad, and kindness for injuries done, some men in the fair that were more observing, and less prejudiced than the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuses done by them to the men ; they, therefore, in angry manner let fly at them again, counting them as bad as the men in the cage, and telling them that they seemed confederates, and should be made partakers of their misfortunes. The other replied, that for aught they could see, the men were quiet and sober, and intended nobody any harm ; and that there were many that traded in their fair that were more worthy to be put into the cage, yea, and pillory too, than were the men they had abused. Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, the men behaving themselves all the while very wisely and soberly before them, they fell to some blows among themselves, and did harm one to another. Then were these two poor men brought before their examiners again, and there charged as being guilty of the late hubbub that had been in the fair. So they beat them pitifully, and hanged irons upon them, and led them in chains up and down the fair,

for an example and a terror to others, lest any should speak in their behalf, or join themselves unto them. But Christian and Faithful behaved themselves yet more wisely, and received the ignominy and shame that was cast upon them, with so much meekness and patience, that it won to their side, though but few in comparison with the rest, several of the men in the fair. This put the other party yet into greater rage, insomuch that they concluded the death of these two men. Wherefore they threatened, that neither cage nor irons should serve their turn, but that they should die, for the abuse they had done, and for deluding the men of the fair.

Then were they remanded to the cage again, until further order should be taken with them. So they put them in, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

Here, therefore, they called again to mind what they had heard from their faithful friend Evangelist, and were the more confirmed in their way and sufferings, by what he told them would happen to them. They also now comforted each other, that whose lot it was to suffer, even he should have the best of it; therefore each man secretly wished that he might have that preferment: but committing themselves to the all-wise disposal of Him that ruleth all things, with much content, they abode in the condition in which they were, until they should be otherwise disposed of.

4. The Trial and Death of Faithful

THEN a convenient time being appointed, they brought them forth to their trial, in order to their condemnation. When the time was come, they were brought before their enemies and arraigned. The Judge's name was Lord Hate-good. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though some-

what varying in form, the contents whereof were this :—

" That they were enemies to and disturbers of their trade ; that they had made commotions and divisions in the town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of the law of their prince."

> Now, Faithful, play the man, speak for thy God ·
> Fear not the wicked's malice, nor their rod :
> Speak boldly, man, the truth is on thy side :
> Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.

Then Faithful began to answer, that he had only set himself against that which hath set itself against Him that is higher than the highest. And, said he, as for disturbance, I make none, being myself a man of peace ; the parties that were won to us, were won by beholding our truth and innocence, and they are only turned from the worse to the better. And as to the king you talk of, since he is Beelzebub, the enemy of our Lord, I defy him and all his angels.

Then proclamation was made that they that had aught to say for their lord the king against the prisoner at the bar should forthwith appear and give in their evidence. So there came in three witnesses, to wit, Envy, Superstition, and Pickthank. They were then asked if they knew the prisoner at the bar ; and what they had to say for their lord the king against him.

Then stood forth Envy, and said to this effect : My lord, I have known this man a long time, and will attest upon my oath before this honourable bench that he is——

Judge. Hold ! Give him his oath. (So they sware him.) Then he said :—

Envy. My lord, this man, notwithstanding his plausible name, is one of the vilest men in our country. He neither regardeth prince nor people, law nor custom ; but doth all that he can to possess all men

with certain of his disloyal notions, which he in general calls principles of faith and holiness. And, in particular, I heard him once myself affirm that Christianity and the customs of our town of Vanity were diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled. By which saying, my lord, he doth at once not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them.

Judge. Then did the Judge say to him, Hast thou any more to say?

Envy. My lord, I could say much more, only I would not be tedious to the court. Yet, if need be, when the other gentlemen have given in their evidence, rather than anything shall be wanting that will despatch him, I will enlarge my testimony against him. So he was bid to stand by.

Then they called Superstition, and bid him look upon the prisoner. They also asked, what he could say for their lord the king against him. Then they sware him; so he began.

Super. My lord, I have no great acquaintance with this man, nor do I desire to have further knowledge of him; however, this I know, that he is a very pestilent fellow, from some discourse that, the other day, I had with him in this town; for then, talking with him, I heard him say, that our religion was nought, and such by which a man could by no means please God. Which sayings of his, my lord, your lordship very well knows, what necessarily thence will follow, to wit, that we do still worship in vain, are yet in our sins, and finally shall be damned; and this is that which I have to say.

Then was Pickthank sworn, and bid say what he knew, in behalf of their lord the king, against the prisoner at the bar.

Pick. My lord, and you gentlemen all, this fellow I have known of a long time, and have heard him speak things that ought not to be spake; for he hath

railed on our noble prince Beelzebub, and hath spoken contemptibly of his honourable friends, whose names are the Lord Luxurious, the Lord Desire of Vain Glory, my old Lord Lechery, Sir Having Greedy, with all the rest of our nobility; and he hath said, moreover, that if all men were of his mind, if possible, there is not one of these noblemen should have any longer a being in this town. Besides, he hath not been afraid to rail on you, my lord, who are now appointed to be his judge, calling you an ungodly villain, with many other such like vilifying terms, with which he hath bespattered most of the gentry of our town.

When this Pickthank had told his tale, the Judge directed his speech to the prisoner at the bar, saying, Thou runagate, heretic, and traitor, hast thou heard what these honest gentlemen have witnessed against thee?

Faith. May I speak a few words in my own defence?

Judge. Sirrah! Sirrah! Thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet, that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us hear what thou, vile runagate, hast to say.

Faith. 1. I say, then, in answer to what Mr. Envy hath spoken, I never said aught but this, That what rule, or laws, or customs, or people, were flat against the Word of God, are diametrically opposite to Christianity. If I have said amiss in this, convince me of my error, and I am ready here before you to make my recantation.

2. As to the second, to wit, Mr. Superstition, and his charge against me, I said only this, That in the worship of God there is required a Divine faith; but there can be no Divine faith without a Divine revelation of the will of God. Therefore, whatever is thrust into the worship of God, that is not agreeable to Divine revelation, cannot be done but by a human

faith, which faith will not be profitable to eternal life.

3. As to what Mr. Pickthank hath said, I say (avoiding terms, as that I am said to rail and the like), that the prince of this town, with all the rabblement his attendants, by this gentleman named, are more fit for a being in hell than in this town and country: and so, the Lord have mercy upon me.

Then the Judge called to the jury (who all this while stood by, to hear and observe): Gentlemen of the jury, you see this man about whom so great an uproar hath been made in this town. You have also heard what these worthy gentlemen have witnessed against him. Also you have heard his reply and confession. It lieth now in your breasts to hang him or save his life; but yet I think meet to instruct you into our law.

There was an Act made in the days of Pharaoh the Great, servant to our prince, that lest those of a contrary religion should multiply and grow too strong for him, their males should be thrown into the river. There was also an Act made in the days of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, another of his servants, that whosoever would not fall down and worship his golden image, should be thrown into a fiery furnace. There was also an Act made in the days of Darius, that whoso, for some time, called upon any god but him, should be cast into the lions' den. Now the substance of these laws this rebel has broken, not only in thought (which is not to be borne), but also in word and deed; which must therefore needs be intolerable.

For that of Pharaoh, his law was made upon a supposition to prevent mischief, no crime being yet apparent; but here is a crime apparent. For the second and third, you see he disputeth against our religion; and for the treason he hath confessed, he deserveth to die the death.

Then went the jury out, whose names were, Mr.

Blindman, Mr. No-good, Mr. Malice, Mr. Love-lust, Mr. Live-loose, Mr. Heady, Mr. High-mind, Mr. Enmity, Mr. Liar, Mr. Cruelty, Mr. Hate-light, and Mr. Implacable ; who every one gave in his private verdict against him among themselves, and afterwards unanimously concluded to bring him in guilty before the Judge. And first, among themselves, Mr. Blindman, the foreman, said, I see clearly that this man is a heretic. Then said Mr. No-good, Away with such a fellow from the earth. Ay, said Mr. Malice, for I hate the very looks of him. Then said Mr. Love-lust, I could never endure him. Nor I, said Mr. Live-loose, for he would always be condemning my way. Hang him, hang him, said Mr. Heady. A sorry scrub, said Mr. High-mind. My heart riseth against him, said Mr. Enmity. He is a rogue, said Mr. Liar. Hanging is too good for him, said Mr. Cruelty. Let us despatch him out of the way, said Mr. Hate-light. Then said Mr. Implacable, Might I have all the world given me, I could not be reconciled to him ; therefore let us forthwith bring him in guilty of death. And so they did ; therefore he was presently condemned to be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented.

They therefore brought him out, to do with him according to their law ; and first they scourged him, then they buffeted him, then they lanced his flesh with knives ; after that, they stoned him with stones, then pricked him with their swords, and, last of all, they burned him to ashes at the stake. Thus came Faithful to his end.

Now I saw that there stood behind the multitude a chariot and a couple of horses, waiting for Faithful, who (so soon as his adversaries had despatched him) was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through the clouds, with sound of trumpet, the nearest way to the celestial gate.

Brave Faithful, bravely done in word and deed ;
Judge, witnesses, and jury have, instead
Of overcoming thee, but shown their rage :
When they are dead, thou'lt live from age to age.

But as for Christian, he had some respite, and was remanded back to prison. So he there remained for a space ; but He that overrules all things, having the power of their rage in His hand, so wrought it about, that Christian for that time escaped them and went his way ; and as he went he sang, saying :—

Well, Faithful, thou hast faithfully profest
Unto thy Lord ; with whom thou shalt be blest,
When faithless ones, with all their vain delights,
Are crying out under their hellish plights :
Sing, Faithful, sing, and let thy name survive ;
For, though they killed thee, thou art yet alive.

5. The Crossing of the River

Now, while they lay here, and waited for the good hour, there was a noise in the town that there was a post come from the Celestial City, with matter of great importance to one Christiana, the wife of Christian the pilgrim. So inquiry was made for her, and the house was found out where she was ; so the post presented her with a letter, the contents whereof were, Hail, good woman ! I bring thee tidings that the Master calleth for thee, and expecteth that thou shouldst stand in his presence, in clothes of immortality, within these ten days.

When he read this letter to her, he gave her therewith a sure token that he was a true messenger, and was come to bid her make haste to be gone. The token was an arrow with a point sharpened with love, let easily into her heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed

she must be gone. When Christiana saw that her time was come, and that she was the first of this company that was to go over, she called for Mr. Great-heart, her guide, and told him how matters were. So he told her he was heartily glad of the news, and could have been glad had the post come for him. Then she bid that he should give advice how all things should be prepared for her journey. So he told her, saying, Thus and thus it must be; and we that survive will accompany you to the river side.

Then she called for her children, and gave them her blessing, and told them, that she yet read with comfort the mark that was set in their foreheads, and was glad to see them with her there, and that they had kept their garments so white. Lastly, she bequeathed to the poor that little she had, and commanded her sons and her daughters to be ready against the messenger should come for them.

When she had spoken these words to her guide and to her children, she called for Mr. Valiant-for-truth, and said unto him, Sir, you have in all places showed yourself true-hearted; "be faithful unto death," and my King will give you "a crown of life." I would also entreat you to have an eye to my children; and if at any time you see them faint, speak comfortably to them. For my daughters, my sons' wives, they have been faithful, and a fulfilling of the promise upon them will be their end. But she gave Mr. Stand-fast a ring.

Then she called for old Mr. Honest, and said to him, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile." Then said he, I wish you a fair day when you set out for Mount Zion, and shall be glad to see that you go over the river dry-shod. But she answered, Come wet, come dry, I long to be gone; for, however the weather is in my journey, I shall have time enough when I come there to sit down and rest me and dry me.

Then came in that good man Mr. Ready-to-halt to see her. So she said to him, Thy travel hither has been with difficulty; but that will make thy rest the sweeter. But watch and be ready; for at an hour when you think not, the messenger may come.

After him came in Mr. Despondency, and his daughter Much-afraid, to whom she said, You ought with thankfulness for ever to remember your deliverance from the hands of Giant Despair, and out of Doubting Castle. The effect of that mercy is, that you are brought with safety hither. Be ye watchful, and cast away fear; "be sober, and hope to the end."

Then she said to Mr. Feeble-mind, Thou wast delivered from the mouth of Giant Slay-good, that thou mightest live in the light of the living for ever, and see thy King with comfort; only I advise thee to repent thee of thine aptness to fear and doubt of his goodness before he sends for thee; lest thou shouldest, when he comes, be forced to stand before him, for that fault, with blushing.

Now the day drew on that Christiana must be gone. So the road was full of people to see her take her journey. But, behold, all the banks beyond the river were full of horses and chariots, which were come down from above to accompany her to the city gate. So she came forth, and entered the river, with a beckon of farewell to those that followed her to the river side. The last words that she was heard to say here were, I come, Lord, to be with thee, and bless thee.

So her children and friends returned to their place, for that those that waited for Christiana had carried her out of their sight. So she went and called, and entered in at the gate with all the ceremonies of joy that her husband Christian had done before her.

At her departure her children wept; but Mr. Great-

heart and Mr. Valiant played upon the well-tuned cymbal and harp for joy. So all departed to their respective places.

In process of time there came a post to the town again, and his business was with Mr. Ready-to-halt. So he inquired him out, and said to him, I am come to thee in the name of him whom thou hast loved and followed, though upon crutches; and my message is to tell thee, that he expects thee at his table to sup with him, in his kingdom, the next day after Easter; wherefore prepare thyself for this journey.

Then he also gave him a token that he was a true messenger, saying, "I have broken thy golden bowl, and loosed thy silver cord."

After this, Mr. Ready-to-halt called for his fellow-pilgrims, and told them, saying, I am sent for, and God shall surely visit you also. So he desired Mr. Valiant to make his will; and because he had nothing to bequeath to them that should survive him but his crutches and his good wishes, therefore thus he said, These crutches I bequeath to my son that shall tread in my steps, with a hundred warm wishes that he may prove better than I have done.

Then he thanked Mr. Great-heart for his conduct and kindness, and so addressed himself to his journey. When he came at the brink of the river, he said, Now I shall have no more need of these crutches, since yonder are chariots and horses for me to ride on. The last words he was heard to say were, Welcome life! So he went his way.

After this, Mr. Feeble-mind had tidings brought him, that the post sounded his horn at his chamber-door. Then he came in, and told him, saying, I am come to tell thee that thy Master hath need of thee; and that, in very little time, thou must behold his face in brightness. And take this as a token of the truth of my message, "Those that look out of the windows shall be darkened."

Then Mr. Feeble-mind called for his friends, and told them what errand had been brought unto him, and what token he had received of the truth of the message. Then he said, Since I have nothing to bequeath to any, to what purpose should I make a will? As for my feeble mind, that I will leave behind me, for that, I have no need of that in the place whither I go. Nor is it worth bestowing upon the poorest pilgrim; wherefore, when I am gone, I desire that you, Mr. Valiant, would bury it in a dunghill. This done, and the day being come in which he was to depart, he entered the river as the rest. His last words were, Hold out, faith and patience. So he went over to the other side.

When days had many of them passed away, Mr. Despondency was sent for; for a post was come, and brought this message to him: Trembling man, these are to summon thee to be ready with thy King by the next Lord's day, to shout for joy for thy deliverance from all thy doubtings.

And, said the messenger, that my message is true, take this for a proof; so he gave him the grasshopper to be a burden unto him. Now Mr. Despondency's daughter, whose name was Much-afraid, said, when she heard what was done, that she would go with her father. Then Mr. Despondency said to his friends, Myself and my daughter, you know what we have been, and how troublesome we have behaved ourselves in every company. My will and my daughter's is, that our desponds and slavish fears be by no man ever received, from the day of our departure, for ever; for I know that after my death they will offer themselves to others. For, to be plain with you, they are ghosts the which we entertained when we first began to be pilgrims, and could never shake them off after; and they will walk about and seek entertainment of the pilgrims; but, for our sakes, shut ye the doors upon them.

When the time was come for them to depart, they went to the brink of the river. The last words of Mr. Despondency were, Farewell night, welcome day. His daughter went through the river singing, but none could understand what she said.

Then it came to pass, a while after, that there was a post in the town that inquired for Mr. Honest. So he came to his house where he was, and delivered to his hand these lines : Thou art commanded to be ready against this day seven-night to present thyself before thy Lord, at his Father's house. And for a token that my message is true, " All thy daughters of music shall be brought low." Then Mr. Honest called for his friends, and said unto them, I die, but shall make no will. As for my honesty, it shall go with me ; let him that comes after be told of this. When the day that he was to be gone was come, he addressed himself to go over the river. Now the river at that time overflowed the banks in some places ; but Mr. Honest in his lifetime had spoken to one Good-conscience to meet him there, the which he also did, and lent him his hand, and so helped him over. The last words of Mr. Honest were, Grace reigns. So he left the world.

After this it was noised abroad that Mr. Valiant-for-truth was taken with a summons by the same post as the other ; and had this for a token that the summons was true, " That his pitcher was broken at the fountain." When he understood it, he called for his friends, and told them of it. Then, said he, I am going to my Father's ; and though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battles who now will be my rewarder. When the day that he must go

hence was come, many accompanied him to the river side, into which as he went he said, " Death, where is thy sting ? " And as he went down deeper, he said, " Grave, where is thy victory ? " So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

Then there came forth a summons for Mr. Stand-fast —this Mr. Stand-fast was he that the rest of the pilgrims found upon his knees in the Enchanted Ground —for the post brought it him open in his hands. The contents whereof were, that he must be prepared for a change of life, for his Master was not willing that he should be so far from him any longer. At this, Mr. Stand-fast was put into a muse. Nay, said the messenger, you need not doubt the truth of my message, for here is a token of the truth thereof : " Thy wheel is broken at the cistern." Then he called unto him Mr. Great-heart, who was their guide, and said unto him, Sir, although it was not my hap to be much in your good company in the days of my pilgrimage ; yet, since the time I knew you, you have been profitable to me. When I came from home, I left behind me a wife and five small children ; let me entreat you, at your return (for I know that you will go and return to your Master's house, in hopes that you may yet be a conductor to more of the holy pilgrims), that you send to my family, and let them be acquainted with all that hath or shall happen unto me.

Tell them, moreover, of my happy arrival to this place, and of the present (and) late blessed condition that I am in. Tell them also of Christian, and Christiana his wife, and how she and her children came after her husband. Tell them also of what a happy end she made, and whither she has gone. I have little or nothing to send to my family, except it be prayers and tears for them ; of which it will suffice if thou acquaint them, if peradventure they may prevail.

When Mr. Stand-fast had thus set things in order, and the time being come for him to haste away, he also went down to the river. Now there was a great calm at that time in the river; wherefore Mr. Stand-fast, when he was about half-way in, stood awhile, and talked to his companions that had waited upon him thither; and he said, This river has been a terror to many; yea, the thoughts of it also have often frightened me. Now, methinks, I stand easy, my foot is fixed upon that on which the feet of the priests that bare the ark of the covenant stood, while Israel went over this Jordan. The waters, indeed, are to the palate bitter, and to the stomach cold; yet the thoughts of what I am going to, and of the conduct that waits for me on the other side, doth lie as a glowing coal at my heart.

I see myself now at the end of my journey, my toilsome days are ended. I am going now to see that head that was crowned with thorns, and that face that was spit upon for me.

I have formerly lived by hearsay and faith; but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with him in whose company I delight myself.

I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of; and wherever I have seen the print of his shoe in the earth, there I have coveted to set my foot too.

His name has been to me as a civet-box; yea, sweeter than all perfumes. His voice to me has been most sweet; and his countenance I have more desired than they that have most desired the light of the sun. His word I did use to gather for my food, and for antidotes against my faintings. "He has held me, and hath kept me from mine iniquities; yea, my steps hath he strengthened in his way."

Now, while he was thus in discourse, his countenance changed; his strong man bowed under him: and after he had said, Take me, for I come unto thee, he ceased to be seen of them.

But glorious it was to see how the open region was filled with horses and chariots, with trumpeters and pipers, with singers and players on stringed instruments, to welcome the pilgrims as they went up, and followed one another in at the beautiful gate of the city.

PASSAGES FROM THE "RELIGIO MEDICI"

[Sir Thomas Browne, the son of a London mercer, was born in 1605, educated at Winchester, Pembroke College, Oxford, and Leyden, took the degree of M.D. in 1633, and afterwards practised as a physician in Norwich. His *Religio Medici* was published in 1643 with resounding success: the second part of it, called *Christian Morals*, from which the following passages are taken, was written many years later, and only appeared in 1716, some twenty-four years after the author's death. Some critics have considered it less finished in style; but the slight difference may well be due to the deliberate mitigation of the "quaint or gorgeous or even merely tricky" element which was, perhaps, a main cause of Browne's early fame. His later work is in the same mood, but exquisitely clarified in style; and the thought is no less rare in beauty or felicitous and unexpected in expression.]

Be Substantially Great

Be substantially great in thy self, and more than thou appearest unto others; and let the World be deceived in thee, as they are in the Lights of Heaven. Hang early plummets upon the heels of Pride, and let Ambition have but an Epicycle and narrow circuit in thee. Measure not thy self by thy morning shadow, but by the extent of thy grave; and Reckon thy self above the Earth by the line thou must be contented with under it. Spread not into boundless Expansions either of designs or desires. Think not that mankind liveth but for a few, and that the rest are born but to serve those Ambitions, which make but flies of Men and wildernesses of whole Nations. Swell not into vehement actions which imbroil and confound the Earth; but be one of those violent ones which force

Epicycle, a small circle whose centre moves round in the circumference of a greater circle.

the Kingdom of Heaven. If thou must needs rule, be Zeno's King, and enjoy that Empire which every Man gives himself. He who is thus his own Monarch contentedly sways the Scepter of himself, not envying the Glory of Crowned Heads and Elohims of the Earth. Could the World unite in the practice of that despised train of Virtues, which the Divine Ethicks of our Saviour hath so inculcated unto us, the furious face of things must disappear, Eden would be yet to be found, and the Angels might look down not with pity, but Joy upon us.

Be Deaf to Calumniators

Though the Quickness of thine Ear were able to reach the noise of the Moon, which some think it maketh in its rapid revolution; though the number of thy Ears should equal *Argus* his Eyes; yet stop them all with the wise man's wax, and be deaf unto the suggestions of Talebearers, Calumniators, Pickthank or Malevolent Delators, who, while quiet Men sleep, sowing the Tares of discord and division, distract the tranquillity of Charity and all friendly Society. These are the Tongues that set the world on fire, cankers of reputation, and, like that of Jonas his Gourd, wither a good name in a night. Evil Spirits may sit still while these Spirits walk about, and perform the business of Hell. To speak more strictly, our corrupted hearts are the Factories of the Devil, which may be at work without his presence. For when that circumventing Spirit hath drawn Malice, Envy, and all unrighteousness unto well rooted habits in his disciples, iniquity then goes on upon its own legs, and if the gate of Hell were shut up

Zeno's King. Zeno, the Stoic philosopher, said that the wise man was a king.

Argus, the hundred-eyed watchman in Greek mythology.

Pickthank, a talebearer or informer.

for a time, Vice would still be fertile and produce the fruits of Hell. Thus when God forsakes us, Satan also leaves us: for such offenders he looks upon as sure and sealed up, and his temptations then needless unto them.

Annihilate not God's Mercies

Annihilate not the mercies of God by the Oblivion of Ingratitude. For Oblivion is a kind of Annihilation, and for things to be as though they had not been is like unto never being. Make not thy Head a Grave, but a Repository of God's mercies. Though thou hadst the Memory of Seneca, or Simonides, and Conscience the punctual Memorist within us, yet trust not to thy Remembrance in things which need Phylacteries. Register not only strange, but merciful occurrences. Let Ephemerides not Olympiads give thee account of His mercies. Let thy Diaries stand thick with dutiful Mementos and Asterisks of acknowledgment. And to be compleat and forget nothing, date not His mercy from thy nativity; look beyond the World, and before the Æra of Adam.

Conscience will shorten the Great Assize

Paint not the Sepulcher of thy self, and strive not to beautify thy corruption. Be not an Advocate for thy Vices, nor call for many Hour-Glasses to justify thy imperfections. Think not that always good which thou thinkest thou canst always make good, nor that concealed which the Sun doth not behold. That which the Sun doth not now see will be visible when the Sun is out, and the Stars are fallen from Heaven.

Ephemerides, daily records.
Olympiads, periods of four years.

Mean while there is no darkness unto Conscience, which can see without Light, and in the deepest obscurity give a clear Draught of things, which the Cloud of dissimulation hath conceal'd from all eyes. There is a natural standing Court within us, examining, acquitting, and condemning at the Tribunal of our selves, wherein iniquities have their natural Theta's, and no nocent is absolved by the verdict of himself. And therefore, although our transgressions shall be tryed at the last bar, the process need not be long; for the Judge of all knoweth all, and every Man will nakedly know himself; and when so few are like to plead *not Guilty*, the Assize must soon have an end.

Flattery is a Juggler

Comply with some humors, bear with others, but serve none. Civil complacency consists with decent honesty: Flattery is a Juggler, and no Kin unto Sincerity. But while thou maintainest the plain path, and scornest to flatter others, fall not into self Adulation, and become not thine own Parasite. Be deaf unto thy self, and be not betrayed at home. Self-credulity, pride, and levity lead unto self-Idolatry. There is no Damocles like unto self opinion, nor any Siren to our own fawning Conceptions. To magnify our minor things, or hug our selves in our apparitions; to afford a credulous Ear unto the clawing suggestions of fancy; to pass our days in painted mistakes of our selves; and though we behold our own blood, to think our selves the Sons of Jupiter; are blandishments of self love, worse than outward delusion. By this Imposture Wise Men sometimes are mistaken in their Elevation, and look above themselves; and Fools, which are Antipodes unto the Wise, conceive them-

Damocles here means "a flatterer."

selves to be but their *Periæci*, and in the same parallel with them.

Study the Dominion of Thyself

Be not a *Hercules furens* abroad, and a Poltron within thy self. To chase our Enemies out of the Field, and be led captive by our Vices; to beat down our Foes, and fall down to our Concupiscences; are Solecisms in Moral Schools, and no Laurel attends them. To well manage our Affections and wild Horses of Plato, are the highest Circenses; and the noblest Digladiation is in the Theater of our selves: for therein our inward Antagonists, not only like common Gladiators, with ordinary Weapons and down right Blows make at us, but also like Retiary and Laqueary Combatants, with Nets, Frauds, and Entanglements fall upon us. Weapons for such combats are not to be forged at Lipara: Vulcan's Art doth nothing in this internal Militia; wherein not the Armour of Achilles, but the Armature of St. Paul, gives the Glorious day, and Triumphs not Leading up into Capitols, but up into the highest Heavens. And therefore, while so many think it the only valour to command and master others, study thou the Dominion of thy self, and quiet thine own Commotions. Let Right Reason be thy Lycurgus, and lift up thy hand unto the Law of it; move by the Intelligences of the superiour Faculties, not by the Rapt of Passion,

Periæci, those who live on the same parallel of latitude but on opposite meridians, so that it is noon in one place when it is midnight in the other.

Hercules furens, a blusterer. *Poltron*, a coward.

Circenses, horse-races in the Roman Circus.

Digladiation, a fight with swords.

Retiary and Laqueary Combatants, combatants armed with nets and lassoes.

Lipara, the Æolian Island where Vulcan had his forge.

Lycurgus, law-giver.

nor merely by that of Temper and Constitution. They who are merely carried on by the Wheel of such Inclinations, without the Hand and Guidance of Sovereign Reason, are but the Automatous part of mankind, rather lived than living, or at least underliving themselves.

Fortune hath no Name in Scripture

Let not Fortune, which hath no name in Scripture, have any in thy Divinity. Let Providence, not Chance, have the honour of thy acknowledgments, and be thy Oedipus in Contingences. Mark well the Paths and winding Ways thereof ; but be not too wise in the Construction, or sudden in the Application. The Hand of Providence writes often by Abbreviatures, Hieroglyphicks or short Characters, which, like the Laconism on the Wall, are not to be made out but by a Hint or Key from that Spirit which indited them. Leave future occurrences to their uncertainties, think that which is present thy own ; and since 'tis easier to foretell an Eclipse, than a foul Day at some distance, look for little regular below. Attend with patience the uncertainty of Things, and what lieth yet unexerted in the Chaos of Futurity. The uncertainty and ignorance of Things to come makes the World new unto us by unexpected Emergences, whereby we pass not our days in the trite road of affairs affording no Novity ; for the novellizing Spirit of Man lives by variety and the new Faces of Things.

Underliving themselves, living below their best selves.
Thy Divinity, thy theology.
Oedipus, riddle-guesser.
Contingences, chance difficulties.
Laconism, brief writing.
Emergences, occurrences.
Novellizing, innovating.

Money and Honours not to be Rejected

Though a contented Mind enlargeth the dimension of little things, and unto some 'tis Wealth enough not to be Poor, and others are well content, if they be but Rich enough to be Honest, and to give every Man his due; yet fall not into that obsolete Affectation of Bravery to throw away thy Money, and to reject all Honours or honourable stations in this courtly and splendid World. Old Generosity is superannuated, and such contempt of the World out of date. No Man is now like to refuse the favour of great ones, or be content to say unto Princes, *Stand out of my Sun.* And if any there be of such antiquated Resolutions, they are not like to be tempted out of them by great ones; and 'tis fair if they escape the name of Hypocondriacks from the Genius of latter times, unto whom contempt of the World is the most contemptible opinion, and to be able, like Bias, to carry all they have about them were to be the eighth Wise-man. However, the old tetrick Philosophers look'd always with Indignation upon such a Face of Things, and observing the unnatural current of Riches, Power, and Honour in the World, and withall the imperfection and demerit of persons often advanced unto them, were tempted unto angry Opinions, that Affairs were ordered more by Stars than Reason, and that things went on rather by Lottery than Election.

Content may Dwell in All Stations

If thy Vessel be but small in the Ocean of this World, if Meanness of Possessions be thy allotment

Bias, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.
Tetrick, harsh or gloomy.

upon Earth, forget not those Virtues which the great Disposer of all bids thee to entertain from thy Quality and Condition, that is, Submission, Humility, Content of mind, and Industry. Content may dwell in all Stations. To be low, but above contempt, may be high enough to be Happy. But many of low Degree may be higher than computed, and some Cubits above the common Commensuration; for in all States Virtue gives Qualifications and Allowances, which make out defects. Rough Diamonds are sometimes mistaken for Pebbles, and Meanness may be Rich in Accomplishments, which Riches in vain desire. If our merits be above our Stations, if our intrinsecal Value be greater than what we go for, or our Value than our Valuation, and if we stand higher in GOD'S, than in the Censor's Book; it may make some equitable balance in the inequalities of this World, and there may be no such vast Chasm or Gulph between disparities as common Measures determine. The Divine Eye looks upon high and low differently from that of Man. They who seem to stand upon Olympus, and high mounted unto our eyes, may be but in the Valleys and low Ground unto His; for He looks upon those as highest who nearest approach His Divinity, and upon those as lowest who are farthest from it.

Nothing Totally Bad

When thou lookest upon the Imperfections of others, allow one Eye for what is Laudable in them, and the balance they have from some excellency, which may render them considerable. While we look with fear or hatred upon the Teeth of the Viper, we may behold his

Censor's Book, the official register at Rome of citizens' estates.
Determine, mark out. *Olympus*, a high mountain.

Eye with love. In venemous Natures something may be amiable ; Poysons afford Antipoysons ; nothing is totally, or altogether uselessly bad. Notable Virtues are sometimes dashed with notorious Vices, and in some vicious tempers have been found illustrious Acts of Virtue ; which makes such observable worth in some actions of King Demetrius, Antonius, and Ahab, as are not to be found in the same kind in Aristides, Numa, or David. Constancy, Generosity, Clemency, and Liberality have been highly conspicuous in some Persons not markt out in other concerns for Example or Imitation. But since Goodness is exemplary in all, if others have not our Virtues, let us not be wanting in theirs, nor, scorning them for their Vices whereof we are free, be condemned by their Virtues wherein we are deficient. There is Dross, Alloy, and Embasement in all human Temper ; and he flieth without Wings, who thinks to find Ophyr or pure Metal in any. For perfection is not, like Light, center'd in any one Body ; but, like the dispersed Seminalities of Vegetables at the Creation, scattered through the whole Mass of the Earth, no place producing all, and almost all some. So that 'tis well, if a perfect Man can be made out of many Men, and, to the perfect Eye of God, even out of Mankind. Time, which perfects some Things, imperfects also others. Could we intimately apprehend the Ideated Man, and as he stood in the intellect of God upon the first exertion by Creation, we might more narrowly comprehend our present Degeneration, and how widely we are fallen from the pure Exemplar and Idea of our Nature : for after this corruptive Elongation from a primitive and pure Creation, we are almost lost in Degeneration ; and Adam hath not only fallen from

Ophyr, gold (gold of Ophir).
Seminalities, productive powers.
Ideated Man, man in the Creator's idea, before creation.
Corruptive Elongation, removal to a distance, causing corruption.

his Creator, but we ourselves from Adam, our Tycho and primary Generator.

Overlook not the Mercies

Quarrel not rashly with Adversities not yet understood, and overlook not the Mercies often bound up in them; for we consider not sufficiently the good of Evils, nor fairly compute the Mercies of Providence in things afflictive at first hand. The famous Andreas Doria being invited to a Feast by Aloysio Fieschi with design to Kill him, just the night before fell mercifully into a fit of the Gout, and so escaped that mischief. When Cato intended to kill himself, from a blow which he gave his servant, who would not reach his Sword unto him, his Hand so swell'd that he had much ado to effect his design. Hereby any one but a resolved Stoick might have taken a fair hint of consideration, and that some mercifull Genius would have contrived his preservation. To be sagacious in such intercurrences is not Superstition, but wary and pious Discretion; and to condemn such hints were to be deaf unto the speaking hand of God, wherein Socrates and Cardan would hardly have been mistaken.

Pass not the Rubicon of Sin

Break not open the gate of Destruction, and make no haste or bustle unto Ruin. Post not heedlessly on unto the *non ultra* of Folly, or precipice of Perdition. Let vicious ways have their Tropicks and Deflexions,

Tycho, the Greek god of Chance, here used, by a mistaken derivation, for the god of Generation or Production.

Cardan, an Italian physician and mathematician, who, like Socrates, claimed to be advised by an attendant spirit.

The non ultra, the extreme.

Tropicks, turning points.

and swim in the Waters of Sin but as in the Asphaltick Lake, though smeared and defiled, not to sink to the bottom. If thou has dipt thy foot in Brink, yet venture not over Rubicon : run not into Extremities from whence there is no regression. In the vicious ways of the World it mercifully falleth out that we become not extempore wicked, but it taketh some time and pains to undo ourselves. We fall not from Virtue, like Vulcan from Heaven, in a day. Bad Dispositions require some time to grow into bad Habits, bad Habits must undermine good, and often repeated acts make us habitually evil : so that by gradual depravations, and while we are but staggeringly evil, we are not left without Parentheses of considerations, thoughtful rebukes, and merciful interventions, to recal us unto our selves. For the Wisdom of God hath methodiz'd the course of things unto the best advantage of goodness, and thinking Considerators overlook not the tract thereof.

Confound not the Distinctions of Men and Women

Since Men and Women have their proper Virtues and Vices, and even Twins of different sexes have not only distinct coverings in the Womb, but differing qualities and virtuous Habits after ; transplace not their Proprieties and confound not their Distinctions. Let Masculine and feminine accomplishments shine in their proper Orbs, and adorn their respective subjects. However unite not the Vices of both Sexes

Asphaltick Lake, the Dead Sea, in which the human body does not sink.

Rubicon, the boundary river, by crossing which Cæsar made war with the Senate inevitable.

Methodiz'd, regulated.

Proprieties, peculiar qualities.

in one ; be not Monstrous in Iniquity, nor Hermaphroditically Vitious.

Rest not under the Merits of Thy Ancestors

If generous Honesty, Valour, and plain Dealing, be the Cognisance of thy Family or Characteristick of thy Country, hold fast such inclinations suckt in with thy first Breath, and which lay in the Cradle with thee. Fall not into transforming degenerations, which under the old name create a new Nation. Be not an Alien in thine own Nation ; bring not Orontes into Tiber ; learn the Virtues not the Vices of thy foreign Neighbours, and make thy imitation by discretion not contagion. Feel something of thy self in the noble Acts of thy Ancestors, and find in thine own Genius that of thy Predecessors. Rest not under the Expired merits of others, shine by those of thy own. Flame not like the central fire which enlightneth no Eyes, which no Man seeth, and most men think there's no such thing to be seen. Add one Ray unto the common Lustre ; add not only to the number but the Note of thy Generation ; and prove not a Cloud but an Asterisk in thy Region.

Dull not away Thy Days in Sloth

Since thou hast an Alarum in thy Breast, which tells thee thou hast a Living Spirit in thee above two thousand times in an hour ; dull not away thy days in sloathful supinity and the tediousness of doing nothing. To strenuous Minds there is an inquietude in overquietness, and no laboriousness in labour ; and to

Hermaphroditically Vitious, vicious with the vices of both sexes.
Orontes, a Syrian river. *Asterisk*, a small star.

tread a mile after the slow pace of a Snail, or the heavy measures of the Lazy of Brazilia, were a most tiring Pennance, and worse than a Race of some furlongs at the Olympicks. The rapid courses of the heavenly bodies are rather imitable by our Thoughts than our corporeal Motions; yet the solemn motions of our lives amount unto a greater measure than is commonly apprehended. Some few men have surrounded the Globe of the Earth; yet many in the set Locomotions and movements of their days have measured the circuit of it, and twenty thousand miles have been exceeded by them. Move circumspectly not meticulously, and rather carefully sollicitous than anxiously sollicitudinous. Think not there is a Lyon in the way, nor walk with Leaden Sandals in the paths of Goodness; but in all Virtuous motions let Prudence determine thy measures. Strive not to run like Hercules, a furlong in a breath: Festination may prove Precipitation; deliberating delay may be wise cunctation, and slowness no sloathfulness.

Busy not Thy Tongue in the Encomium of Thyself

Since Virtuous Actions have their own Trumpets, and without any noise from thy self will have their resound abroad, busy not thy best Member in the Encomium of thy self. Praise is a debt we owe unto the Virtues of others, and due unto our own from all, whom Malice hath not made Mutes, or Envy struck Dumb. Fall not however into the common prevaricating way of self commendation and boasting, by denoting the imperfections of others. He who dis-

The Lazy of Brazilia, the Sloth, a tree-climbing animal.
Festination, haste. *Precipitation*, a headlong fall.
Cunctation, delay.

commendeth others obliquely commendeth himself. He who whispers their infirmities proclaims his own Exemption from them, and consequently says, *I am not as this Publican,* or *Hic niger,* whom I talk of. Open ostentation and loud vainglory is more tolerable than this obliquity, as but containing some Froath no Ink ; as but consisting of a personal piece of folly, nor complicated with uncharitableness. Superfluously we seek a precarious applause abroad : every good Man hath his *plaudite* within himself ; and though his Tongue be silent, is not without loud Cymbals in his Breast. Conscience will become his Panegyrist, and never forget to crown and extol him unto himself.

Be Thankful for Honest Parents

Bless not thy self only that thou wert born in Athens ; but among thy multiplyed acknowledgments lift up one hand unto Heaven, that thou wert born of Honest Parents, that Modesty, Humility, Patience, and Veracity lay in the same Egg, and came into the World with thee. From such foundations thou may'st be Happy in a Virtuous precocity, and make an early and long walk in Goodness ; so may'st thou more naturally feel the contrariety of Vice unto Nature, and resist some by the Antidote of thy Temper. As Charity covers, so Modesty preventeth, a multitude of sins ; withholding from noon-day Vices and brazen-brow'd Iniquities, from sinning on the house top, and painting our follies with the rays of the Sun. Where this Virtue reigneth, though Vice may show its Head, it cannot be in its Glory : where shame of sin sets, look not for Virtue to arise ; for when Modesty taketh Wing, Astræa goes soon after.

Hic niger : this is a black man.
Astræa, the goddess of Justice and Virtue.

Heroism of the Soldiery: the English Gentleman

The Heroical vein of Mankind runs much in the Souldiery, and couragious part of the World; and in that form we oftenest find Men above Men. History is full of the gallantry of that Tribe; and when we read their notable Acts, we easily find what a difference there is between a Life in Plutarch and in Laërtius. Where true Fortitude dwells, Loyalty, Bounty, Friendship, and Fidelity may be found. A man may confide in persons constituted for noble ends, who dare do and suffer, and who have a Hand to burn for their Country and their Friend. Small and creeping things are the product of petty Souls. He is like to be mistaken, who makes choice of a covetous Man for a Friend, or relieth upon the Reed of narrow and poltron Friendship. Pityful things are only to be found in the cottages of such Breasts; but bright Thoughts, clear Deeds, Constancy, Fidelity, Bounty, and generous Honesty are the Gems of noble Minds; wherein (to derogate from none) the true Heroick English Gentleman hath no peer.

No One Age Exemplary

'Tis hard to find a whole Age to imitate, or what Century to propose for Example. Some have been far more approveable than others: but Virtue and Vice, Panegyricks and Satyrs, scatteringly to be found in all. History sets down not only things laudable, but abominable; things which should never have been or never have been known: so that noble patterns

Satyrs, satires.

must be fetched here and there from single Persons, rather than whole Nations, and from all Nations, rather than any one. The World was early bad, and the first sin the most deplorable of any. The younger World afforded the oldest Men, and perhaps the Best and the Worst, when length of days made virtuous habits heroical and immoveable, vitious, inveterate and irreclaimable. And since 'tis said that the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil ; it may be feared that their sins held pace with their lives ; and their Longevity swelling their Impieties, the Longanimity of GOD would no longer endure such vivacious abominations. Their Impieties were surely of a deep dye, which required the whole Element of Water to wash them away, and overwhelmed their memories with themselves ; and so shut up the first Windows of Time, leaving no Histories of those longevous generations, when Men might have been properly Historians, when Adam might have read long Lectures unto Methuselah, and Methuselah unto Noah. For had we been happy in just Historical accounts of that unparallel'd World, we might have been acquainted with Wonders, and have understood not a little of the Acts and undertakings of Moses his mighty Men, and Men of renown of old ; which might have enlarged our Thoughts and made the World older unto us. For the unknown part of time shortens the estimation, if not the compute of it. What hath escaped our Knowledge falls not under our Consideration, and what is and will be latent is little better than non-existent.

He Honours God who Imitates Him

Some things are dictated for our Instruction, some acted for our Imitation, wherein 'tis best to ascend unto the highest conformity, and to the honour of the

Exemplar. He honours God who imitates Him. For what we virtuously imitate we approve and admire; and since we delight not to imitate Inferiors, we aggrandize and magnify those we imitate; since also we are most apt to imitate those we love, we testify our affection in our imitation of the Inimitable. To affect to be like may be no imitation. To act, and not to be what we pretend to imitate, is but a mimical conformation, and carrieth no Virtue in it. Lucifer imitated not God, when he said he would be like the Highest, and he imitated not Jupiter, who counterfeited Thunder. Where Imitation can go no farther, let Admiration step on, whereof there is no end in the wisest form of Men. Even Angels and Spirits have enough to admire in their sublimer Natures, Admiration being the act of the Creature, and not of God, Who doth not admire Himself. Created Natures allow of swelling Hyperboles; nothing can be said hyperbolically of God, nor will His Attributes admit of expressions above their own Exuperances. Trismegistus his Circle, whose center is everywhere, and circumference no where, was no Hyperbole. Words cannot exceed, where they cannot express enough. Even the most winged Thoughts fall at the setting out, and reach not the portal of Divinity.

Embrace not the Blind Side of Opinions

In Bivious Theorems and Janus-faced Doctrines let Virtuous considerations state the determination.

Hyperboles, exaggerated phrases.
Exuperances (exsuperances), excellencies.
Trismegistus his Circle. Hermes Trismegistus defined God as a circle whose centre is everywhere, but his circumference nowhere.
Bivious Theorems, theories leading different ways, as *Janus*, the Roman god, had two faces in opposite directions.

Look upon Opinions as thou doest upon the Moon, and chuse not the dark hemisphere for thy contemplation. Embrace not the opacous and blind side of Opinions, but that which looks most Luciferously or influentially unto Goodness. 'Tis better to think that there are Guardian Spirits, than that there are no Spirits to guard us ; that vicious Persons are Slaves, than that there is any servitude in Virtue ; that times past have been better than times present, than that times were always bad, and that to be Men it suffiseth to be no better than Men in all Ages, and so promiscuously to swim down the turbid stream, and make up the grand confusion. Sow not thy understanding with Opinions, which make nothing of Iniquities, and fallaciously extenuate Transgressions. Look upon Vices and vicious Objects with hyperbolical Eyes, and rather enlarge their dimensions, that their unseen Deformities may not escape thy sense, and their poysonous parts and stings may appear massy and monstrous unto thee ; for the undiscerned Particles and Atoms of Evil deceive us, and we are undone by the Invisibles of seeming Goodness. We are only deceived in what is not discerned, and to err is but to be blind or dim-sighted as to some Perceptions.

To be Virtuous by Epitome

To be Honest in a right line, and Virtuous by Epitome, be firm unto such Principles of Goodness, as carry in them Volumes of instruction and may abridge thy Labour. And since instructions are many, hold close unto those whereon the rest depend. So may we have all in a few, and the Law and the Prophets in a Rule, the Sacred Writ in Stenography, and

Hyperbolical Eyes, magnifying eyes.
By Epitome, by a short cut, or the nearest way.

the Scripture in a Nut-Shell. To pursue the osseous and solid part of Goodness, which gives stabilty and Rectitude to all the rest; to settle on fundamental Virtues, and bid early defiance unto Mother-vices, which carry in their Bowels the seminals of other Iniquities, makes a short cut in Goodness, and strikes not off an Head but the whole Neck of Hydra. For we are carried into the dark Lake, like the Ægyptian River into the Sea, by seven principal Ostiaries. The Mother-Sins of that number are the Deadly engins of evil Spirits that undo us, and even evil Spirits themselves, and he who is under the Chains thereof is not without a possession. Mary Magdalene had more than seven Devils, if these with their Imps were in her, and he who is thus possessed may literally be named *Legion*. Where such Plants grow and prosper, look for no Champian or Region void of Thorns, but productions like the Tree of Goa, and Forrests of abomination.

Guide not the Hand of God

Guide not the Hand of God, nor order the Finger of the Almighty, unto thy will and pleasure; but sit quiet in the soft showers of Providence, and favorable distributions in this World, either to thy self or others. And since not only Judgments have their Errands, but Mercies their Commissions, snatch not at every Favour, nor think thy self passed by, if they fall upon thy Neighbour. Rake not up envious displacences at things successful unto others, which the wise Disposer of all thinks not fit for thy self. Reconcile the events of things unto both beings, that is, of this World and the next; so will there not seem so many Riddles in

Ostiaries, river mouths.
Champian, i.e., champaign, open country.
The Tree of Goa, the banyan tree.

Providence, nor various inequalities in the dispensation of things below. If thou doest not anoint thy Face, yet put not on sackcloth at the felicities of others. Repining at the Good draws on rejoicing at the evils of others, and so falls into that inhumane Vice, for which so few Languages have a name. The blessed Spirits above rejoice at our happiness below; but to be glad at the evils of one another is beyond the malignity of Hell, and falls not on evil Spirits, who, though they rejoice at our unhappiness, take no pleasure at the afflictions of their own Society or of their fellow Natures. Degenerous Heads! who must be fain to learn from such Examples, and to be taught from the School of Hell.

Grain not Thy Vicious Stains

Grain not thy vicious stains, nor deepen those swart Tinctures, which Temper, Infirmity, or ill habits have set upon thee; and fix not by iterated depravations what Time might efface, or virtuous washes expunge. He who thus still advanceth in Iniquity deepneth his deformed hue, turns a Shadow into Night, and makes himself a Negro in the black Jaundice; and so becomes one of those lost ones, the disproportionate pores of whose Brains afford no entrance unto good Motions, but reflect and frustrate all Counsels, deaf unto the Thunder of the Laws, and Rocks unto the Cries of charitable Commiserators. He who hath had the Patience of Diogenes, to make Orations unto Statues, may more sensibly apprehend how all Words fall to the Ground, spent upon such a surd and Earless Generation of Men, stupid unto all Instruction, and rather requiring an Exorcist, than an Orator for their Conversion.

Degenerous, degenerate.
Grain not, do not engrain, or make permanent.
Exorcist, one who exorcises or expels evil spirits.
Surd, deaf.

Burden not the Stars with Thy Faults

Burden not the back of Aries, Leo, or Taurus, with thy faults, nor make Saturn, Mars, or Venus, guilty of thy Follies. Think not to fasten thy imperfections on the Stars, and so despairingly conceive thy self under a fatality of being evil. Calculate thy self within, seek not thy self in the Moon, but in thine own Orb or Microcosmical Circumference. Let celestial aspects admonish and advertise, not conclude and determine thy ways. For since good and bad Stars moralize not our Actions, and neither excuse or commend, acquit or condemn our Good or Bad Deeds at the present or last Bar, since some are Astrologically well disposed who are morally highly vicious ; not celestial Figures, but virtuous Schemes, must denominate and state our Actions. If we rightly understood the Names whereby God calleth the Stars, if we knew His Name for the Dog-Star, or by what appellation Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn obey His Will, it might be a welcome accession unto Astrology, which speaks great things, and is fain to make use of appellations from Greek and Barbarick Systems. Whatever Influences, Impulsions, or Inclinations there be from the Lights above, it were a piece of wisdom to make one of those Wise men who overrule their Stars, and with their own Militia contend with the Host of Heaven. Unto which attempt there want not Auxiliaries from the whole strength of Morality, supplies from Christian Ethicks, influences also and illuminations from above, more powerfull than the Lights of Heaven.

Microcosmical Circumference, the circumference of the body (which is the microcosm, or world in miniature).

Astrologically, by their horoscope, or fortune told by the stars or "Celestial Figures."

Confound not the Distinctions of Thy Life

Confound not the distinctions of thy Life which Nature hath divided, that is, Youth, Adolescence, Manhood, and old Age ; nor in these divided periods, wherein thou art in a manner Four, conceive thy self but One. Let every division be happy in its proper Virtues, nor one Vice run through all. Let each distinction have its salutary transition, and critically deliver thee from the imperfections of the former, so ordering the whole, that Prudence and Virtue may have the largest Section. Do as a Child but when thou art a Child, and ride not on a Reed at twenty. He who hath not taken leave of the follies of his Youth, and in his maturer state scarce got out of that division, disproportionately divideth his Days, crowds up the latter part of his Life, and leaves too narrow a corner for the Age of Wisdom, and so hath room to be a Man scarce longer than he hath been a Youth. Rather than to make this confusion, anticipate the Virtues of Age, and live long without the infirmities of it. So may'st thou count up thy Days as some do Adams, that is, by anticipation ; so may'st thou be coetaneous unto thy elders, and a Father unto thy contemporaries.

Be Critical in Thy Consortation : Be Able to be Alone

While others are curious in the choice of good Air, and chiefly sollicitous for healthful habitations, study thou Conversation, and be critical in the Consortion.

Coetaneous unto, of equal age with.
Consortation, choice of company. *Consortion*, companionship.

The aspects, conjunctions, and configurations of the Stars, which mutually diversify, intend, or qualify their influences, are but the varieties of their nearer or farther conversation with one another, and like the Consortion of Men, whereby they become better or worse, and even Exchange their Natures. Since Men live by Examples, and will be imitating something, order thy imitation to thy Improvement, not thy Ruin. Look not for Roses in Attalus his Garden, or wholsome Flowers in a venemous Plantation. And since there is scarce any one bad, but some others are the worse for him, tempt not Contagion by proximity, and hazard not thy self in the shadow of Corruption. He who hath not early suffered this Shipwrack, and in his younger Days escaped this Charybdis, may make a happy Voyage, and not come in with black Sails into the port. Self conversation, or to be alone, is better than such Consortion. Some School-men tell us, that he is properly alone, with whom in the same place there is no other of the same species. Nabuchodonozor was alone, though among the Beasts of the Field; and a wise Man may be tolerably said to be alone, though with a Rabble of People little better than Beasts about him. Unthinking Heads, who have not learn'd to be alone, are in a Prison to themselves, if they be not also with others; whereas on the contrary, they whose thoughts are in a fair and hurry within, are sometimes fain to retire into Company, to be out of the crowd of themselves. He who must needs have Company, must needs have sometimes bad Company. Be able to be alone. Loose not the advantage of Solitude, and the Society of thy self, nor be only content, but delight to be alone and single with Omnipresency. He who is thus prepared, the Day is not uneasy nor the Night black unto him. Darkness may bound his Eyes, not his Imagination.

Attalus, King of Pergamus, had a garden of poisonous herbs only.
Charybdis, a whirlpool.

In his Bed he may ly, like Pompey and his Sons, in all quarters of the Earth, may speculate the Universe, and enjoy the whole World in the Hermitage of himself. Thus the old ascetick Christians found a Paradise in a Desert, and with little converse on Earth held a conversation in Heaven ; thus they astronomiz'd in Caves, and, though they beheld not the Stars, had the Glory of the Heaven before them.

Think not to Find Heaven on Earth

Look not for Whales in the Euxine Sea, or expect great matters where they are not to be found. Seek not for Profundity in Shallowness, or Fertility in a Wilderness. Place not the expectation of great Happiness here below, or think to find Heaven on Earth ; wherein we must be content with Embryon felicities, and fruitions of doubtful Faces. For the Circle of our Felicities makes but short Arches. In every clime we are in a periscian state, and with our Light our Shadow and Darkness walk about us. Our Contentments stand upon the tops of Pyramids ready to fall off, and the insecurity of their enjoyments abrupteth our Tranquilities. What we magnify is magnificent, but like to the Colossus, noble without, stuft with rubbidge and course Metal within. Even the Sun, whose glorious outside we behold, may have dark and smoaky Entrails. In vain we admire the Lustre of any thing seen ; that which is truly glorious is invisible. Paradise was but a part of the Earth, lost not only to our Fruition but our Knowledge. And if, according to old Dictates, no Man can be said to be happy before Death, the happiness of this Life goes for nothing

Embryon, undeveloped.
Periscian, surrounded with shadows.
Colossus, the famous statue at Rhodes.

before it be over, and while we think our selves happy we do but usurp that Name. Certainly true Beatitude groweth not on Earth, nor hath this World in it the Expectations we have of it. He swims in Oyl, and can hardly avoid sinking, who hath such light Foundations to support him. 'Tis therefore happy that we have two Worlds to hold on. To enjoy true happiness we must travel into a very far Countrey, and even out of our selves; for the Pearl we seek for is not to be found in the Indian, but in the Empyrean Ocean.

Be not Prodigal in Revenge: Be not Cruel to Thyself

Answer not the Spur of Fury, and be not prodigal or prodigious in Revenge. Make not one in the *Historia Horribilis;* flay not thy Servant for a broken Glass, nor pound him in a Mortar who offendeth thee; supererogate not in the worst sense, and overdo not the necessities of evil; humour not the injustice of Revenge. Be not Stoically mistaken in the equality of sins, nor commutatively iniquous in the valuation of transgressions; but weigh them in the Scales of Heaven, and by the weights of righteous Reason. Think that Revenge too high, which is but level with the offence. Let thy Arrows of Revenge fly short, or be aimed like those of Jonathan, to fall beside the mark. Too many there be to whom a dead Enemy smells well, and who find Musk and Amber in Revenge. The ferity of such minds holds no rule in Retaliations, requiring too often a Head for a Tooth, and the supreme revenge for trespasses

Empyrean Ocean, the vast expanse of the sky.
Historia Horribilis, a book of horrible stories, published in 1597.
Iniquous, unjust, unfair. *Ferity*, fierceness.

which a night's rest should obliterate. But patient Meekness takes injuries like Pills, not chewing but swallowing them down, Laconically suffering, and silently passing them over; while angred Pride makes a noise, like Homerican Mars, at every scratch of offences. Since Women do most delight in Revenge, it may seem but feminine manhood to be vindicative. If thou must needs have thy Revenge of thine Enemy, with a soft Tongue break his bones, heap Coals of Fire on his Head, forgive him, and enjoy it. To forgive our Enemies is a charming way of Revenge, and a short Cæsarian Conquest overcoming without a blow; laying our Enemies at our Feet, under sorrow, shame, and repentance; leaving our Foes our Friends, and solicitously inclined to grateful retaliations. Thus to return upon our Adversaries is a healing way of Revenge, and to do good for evil a soft and melting ultion, a method taught from Heaven to keep all smooth on Earth. Common forceable ways make not an end of Evil, but leave Hatred and Malice behind them. An Enemy thus reconciled is little to be trusted, as wanting the foundation of Love and Charity, and but for a time restrained by disadvantage or inability. If thou hast not Mercy for others, yet be not Cruel unto thy self. To ruminate upon evils, to make critical notes upon injuries, and be too acute in their apprehensions, is to add unto our own Tortures, to feather the Arrows of our Enemies, to lash our selves with the Scorpions of our Foes, and to resolve to sleep no more. For injuries long dreamt on take away at last all rest; and he sleeps but like Regulus, who busieth his Head about them.

Laconically, like a Spartan.

Cæsarian Conquest, a conquest as swift as Cæsar's *Veni—vidi—vici*.

Ultion, revenge.

Regulus, whom the Carthaginians put to death by torture and want of sleep.

Leave Cloudy Predictions

Amuse not thy self about the Riddles of future things. Study Prophecies when they are become Histories, and past hovering in their causes. Eye well things past and present, and let conjectural sagacity suffise for things to come. There is a sober Latitude for prescience in contingencies of discoverable Tempers, whereby discerning Heads see sometimes beyond their Eyes, and wise Men become prophetical. Leave cloudy predictions to their Periods, and let appointed Seasons have the lot of their accomplishments. 'Tis too early to study such Prophecies before they have been long made, before some train of their causes have already taken Fire, laying open in part what lay obscure and before buryed unto us. For the voice of Prophecies is like that of Whispering-places; they who are near or at a little distance hear nothing, those at the farthest extremity will understand all. But a retrograde cognition of times past, and things which have already been, is more satisfactory than a suspended Knowledge of what is yet unexistent. And the greatest part of time being already wrapt up in things behind us, it's now somewhat late to bait after things before us; for futurity still shortens, and time present sucks in time to come. What is prophetical in one Age proves historical in another, and so must hold on unto the last of time; when there will be no room for Prediction, when Janus shall loose one Face, and the long beard of time shall look like those of David's Servants, shorn away upon one side, and when, if the expected Elias should appear, he might say much of what is past, not much of what's to come.

Live unto the Dignity of Thy Nature

Live unto the Dignity of thy Nature, and leave it not disputable at last, whether thou hast been a Man;

or, since thou art a composition of Man and Beast, how thou hast predominantly passed thy days, to state the denomination. Unman not therefore thy self by a beastial transformation, nor realize old Fables. Expose not thy self by four-footed manners unto monstrous draughts, and caricatura representations. Think not after the old Pythagorean conceit, what Beast thou may'st be after death. Be not under any brutal metempsychosis while thou livest, and walkest about erectly under the scheme of Man. In thine own circumference, as in that of the Earth, let the rational Horizon be larger than the sensible, and the Circle of Reason than of Sense. Let the Divine part be upward, and the Region of Beast below. Otherwise, 'tis but to live invertedly, and with thy Head unto the Heels of thy Antipodes. Desert not thy title to a Divine particle and union with invisibles. Let true Knowledge and Virtue tell the lower World thou art a part of the higher. Let thy Thoughts be of things which have not entred into the Hearts of Beasts ; think of things long past, and long to come ; acquaint thy self with the Choragium of the Stars, and consider the vast expansion beyond them. Let intellectual Tubes give thee a glance of things, which visive Organs reach not. Have a glimpse of incomprehensibles, and Thoughts of things which Thoughts but tenderly touch. Lodge immaterials in thy Head ; ascend unto invisibles ; fill thy Spirit with spirituals, with the mysteries of Faith, the magnalities of Religion, and thy Life with the Honour of God ; without which, though Giants in Wealth and Dignity, we are but Dwarfs and Pygmies in Humanity, and may hold a pitiful rank in that triple division of man-

Rational Horizon, the celestial, or true extended horizon, independent of human vision, which only perceives the local or visible horizon.

Choragium, dance, or revolution.

Tubes, telescopes. *Visive*, visual.

kind into Heroes, Men, and Beasts. For though human Souls are said to be equal, yet is there no small inequality in their operations; some maintain the allowable Station of Men; many are far below it; and some have been so divine, as to approach the Apogeum of their Natures, and to be in the Confinium of Spirits.

Behold Thyself by Inward Opticks

Behold thy self by inward Opticks and the Crystalline of thy Soul. Strange it is that in the most perfect sense there should be so many fallacies, that we are fain to make a doctrine, and often to see by Art. But the greatest imperfection is in our inward sight, that is, to be Ghosts unto our own Eyes, and while we are so sharpsighted as to look thorough others, to be invisible unto our selves; for the inward Eyes are more fallacious than the outward. The Vices we scoff at in others laugh at us within our selves. Avarice, Pride, Falshood lye undiscerned and blindly in us, even to the Age of blindness: and therefore, to see our selves interiourly, we are fain to borrow other Mens Eyes; wherein true Friends are good Informers, and Censurers no bad Friends. Conscience only, that can see without Light, sits in the Areopagy and dark Tribunal of our Hearts, surveying our Thoughts and condemning their obliquities. Happy is that state of vision that can see without Light, though all should look as before the Creation, when there was not an Eye to see, or Light to actuate a Vision: wherein notwithstanding obscurity is only imaginable respec-

Apogeum, the point farthest from earth.
Confinium, the border-land.
Opticks, glasses.
Crystalline, the crystalline lens of the eye.
Areopagy, the Senate or High Court.

tively unto Eyes; for unto GOD there was none; Eternal Light was ever; created Light was for the creation, not Himself, and as He saw before the Sun, may still also see without it. In the City of the New Jerusalem there is neither Sun nor Moon; where glorifyed Eyes must see by the archetypal Sun, or the Light of GOD, able to illuminate Intellectual Eyes, and make unknown Visions. Intuitive perceptions in Spiritual beings may perhaps hold some Analogy unto Vision: but yet how they see us, or one another, what Eye, what Light, or what perception is required unto their intuition, is yet dark unto our apprehension; and even how they see GOD, or how unto our glorified Eyes the Beatifical Vision will be celebrated, another World must tell us, when perceptions will be new, and we may hope to behold invisibles.

Forget not the Wheel of Things

When all looks fair about, and thou seest not a cloud so big as a Hand to threaten thee, forget not the Wheel of things: think of sullen vicissitudes, but beat not thy brains to fore-know them. Be armed against such obscurities rather by submission than fore-knowledge. The Knowledge of future evils mortifies present felicities, and there is more content in the uncertainty or ignorance of them. This favour our Saviour vouchsafed unto Peter, when He foretold not his Death in plain terms, and so by an ambiguous and cloudy delivery dampt not the Spirit of His Disciples. But in the assured fore-knowledge of the Deluge Noah lived many Years under the affliction of a Flood, and Jerusalem was taken unto Jeremy before it was besieged. And therefore the Wisdom of Astrologers, who speak of future things, hath wisely

softned the severity of their Doctrines; and even in their sad predictions, while they tell us of inclination, not co-action, from the Stars, they Kill us not with Stygian Oaths and merciless necessity, but leave us hopes of evasion.

Ingratitude, Degenerous Vice!

If thou hast the brow to endure the Name of Traytor, Perjur'd, or Oppressor, yet cover thy Face when Ingratitude is thrown at thee. If that degenerous Vice possess thee, hide thy self in the shadow of thy shame, and pollute not noble society. Grateful Ingenuities are content to be obliged within some compass of Retribution, and being depressed by the weight of iterated favours may so labour under their inabilities of Requital, as to abate the content from Kindnesses; but narrow self-ended Souls make prescription of good Offices, and obliged by often favours think others still due unto them: whereas, if they but once fail, they prove so perversely ungrateful, as to make nothing of former courtesies, and to bury all that's past. Such tempers pervert the generous course of things: for they discourage the inclinations of noble minds, and make Beneficency cool unto acts of obligation, whereby the grateful World should subsist, and have their consolation. Common gratitude must be kept alive by the additionary fewel of new courtesies; but generous Gratitudes, though but once well obliged, without quickening repetitions or expectation of new Favours, have thankful minds for ever; for they write not their obligations in sandy but marble memories, which wear not out with themselves.

Stygian Oaths, oaths sworn by the river Styx, which not even the gods dare break.

The Virtue of Taciturnity

Think not Silence the wisdom of Fools, but, if rightly timed, the honour of wise Men, who have not the Infirmity, but the Virtue of Taciturnity, and speak not out of the abundance, but the well weighed thoughts of their Hearts. Such Silence may be Eloquence, and speak thy worth above the power of Words. Make such a one thy friend, in whom Princes may be happy, and great Councels successful. Let him have the Key of thy Heart, who hath the Lock of his own, which no Temptation can open; where thy Secrets may lastingly ly, like the Lamp in Olybius his Urn, alive and light, but close and invisible.

Honest Men's Words are Stygian Oaths

Let thy Oaths be sacred, and Promises be made upon the Altar of thy Heart. Call not Jove to witness with a Stone in one Hand, and a Straw in another, and so make Chaff and Stubble of thy Vows. Worldly Spirits, whose interest is their belief, make Cobwebs of Obligations, and, if they can find ways to elude the Urn of the Prætor, will trust the Thunderbolt of Jupiter; and therefore, if they should as deeply swear as Osman to Bethlem Gabor, yet whether they would be bound by those chains, and not find ways to cut such Gordian Knots, we could have no just assurance. But honest Mens Words are Stygian Oaths, and Promises inviolable. These are not the

Olybius his Urn, or lamp, after many hundred years, was found underground, still burning.

The Urn of the Prætor, the ballot-box into which the vote for guilty or not guilty was cast.

Osman, the Turkish sultan.

Men for whom the fetters of Law were first forged; they needed not the solemness of Oaths; by keeping their Faith they swear, and evacuate such confirmations.

Life a Curt Epitome of the Whole Course of Time

In seventy or eighty years a Man may have a deep Gust of the World, know what it is, what it can afford, and what 'tis to have been a Man. Such a latitude of years may hold a considerable corner in the general Map of Time; and a Man may have a curt Epitome of the whole course thereof in the days of his own Life, may clearly see he hath but acted over his Forefathers, what it was to live in Ages past, and what living will be in all ages to come.

He is like to be the best judge of Time who hath lived to see about the sixtieth part thereof. Persons of short times may know what 'tis to live, but not the life of Man, who, having little behind them, are but Januses of one Face, and know not singularities enough to raise Axioms of this World: but such a compass of Years will show new Examples of old Things, Parallelisms of occurrences through the whole course of Time, and nothing be monstrous unto him, who may in that time understand not only the varieties of Men, but the variation of himself, and how many Men he hath been in that extent of time.

He may have a close apprehension what it is to be forgotten, while he hath lived to find none who could remember his Father, or scarce the friends of his youth, and may sensibly see with what a face in no long time oblivion will look upon himself. His Pro-

Gust, taste.

The sixtieth part. As the world was supposed to be 6000 years old, this seems to mean 100 years or somewhat less.

geny may never be his Posterity; he may go out of the World less related than he came into it; and considering the frequent mortality in Friends and Relations, in such a Term of Time, he may pass away divers years in sorrow and black habits, and leave none to mourn for himself; Orbity may be his inheritance, and Riches his Repentance.

In such a thred of Time and long observation of Men he may acquire a physiognomical intuitive Knowledge, judge the interiors by the outside, and raise conjectures at first sight; and, knowing what Men have been, what they are, what Children probably will be, may in the present Age behold a good part, and the temper of the next; and, since so many live by the Rules of Constitution, and so few overcome their temperamental Inclinations, make no improbable predictions.

Such a portion of Time will afford a large prospect backward, and authentick Reflections how far he hath performed the great intention of his Being, in the Honour of his Maker; whether he hath made good the Principles of his Nature and what he was made to be; what Characteristick and special Mark he hath left, to be observable in his Generation; whether he hath lived to purpose or in vain, and what he hath added, acted, or performed, that might considerably speak him a Man.

In such an Age Delights will be undelightful and Pleasures grow stale unto him; antiquated Theorems will revive, and Solomon's Maxims be Demonstrations unto him; Hopes or presumptions be over, and despair grow up of any satisfaction below. And having been long tossed in the Ocean of this World, he will by that time feel the In-draught of another, unto which this seems but preparatory, and without

Physiognomical intuitive Knowledge, knowledge gained by the eye, judging by outward features.
Rules of Constitution, dictates of temperament.

it of no high value. He will experimentally find the Emptiness of all things, and the nothing of what is past; and wisely grounding upon true Christian Expectations, finding so much past, will wholly fix upon what is to come. He will long for Perpetuity, and live as though he made haste to be happy. The last may prove the prime part of his Life, and those his best days which he lived nearest Heaven.

The Elysium of the Mind

Live happy in the Elizium of a virtuously composed Mind, and let intellectual Contents exceed the Delights wherein mere Pleasurists place their Paradise. Bear not too slack reins upon Pleasure, nor let complexion or contagion betray thee unto the exorbitancy of Delight. Make Pleasure thy Recreation or intermissive Relaxation, not thy Diana, Life and Profession. Voluptuousness is as insatiable as Covetousness. Tranquility is better than Jollity, and to appease pain than to invent pleasure. Our hard entrance into the World, our miserable going out of it, our sicknesses, disturbances, and sad Rencounters in it, do clamorously tell us we come not into the World to run a Race of Delight, but to perform the sober Acts and serious purposes of Man; which to omit were foully to miscarry in the advantage of humanity, to play away an uniterable Life, and to have lived in vain. Forget not the capital end, and frustrate not the opportunity of once Living. Dream not of any kind of Metempsychosis or transanimation, but into thine own body,

Elizium, happiness or Paradise. *Diana*, goddess.
Rencounters, obstacles or antagonisms.
Uniterable, unrepeatable.
Metempsychosis or transanimation, transmigration of the soul from one body to another.

and that after a long time, and then also unto wail or bliss, according to thy first and fundamental Life. Upon a curricle in this World depends a long course of the next, and upon a narrow Scene here an endless expansion hereafter. In vain some think to have an end of their Beings with their Lives. Things cannot get out of their natures, or be or not be in despite of their constitutions. Rational existences in Heaven perish not at all, and but partially on Earth: that which is thus once will in some way be always: the first living human Soul is still alive, and all Adam hath found no Period.

When Reality shall Rule

Since the Stars of Heaven do differ in Glory; since it hath pleased the Almighty hand to honour the North Pole with Lights above the South; since there are some Stars so bright, that they can hardly be looked on, some so dim that they can scarce be seen, and vast numbers not to be seen at all even by Artificial Eyes; read thou the Earth in Heaven, and things below from above. Look contentedly upon the scattered difference of things, and expect not equality in lustre, dignity, or perfection, in Regions or Persons below; where numberous numbers must be content to stand like lacteous or nebulous Stars, little taken notice of, or dim in their generations. All which may be contentedly allowable in the affairs and ends of this World, and in suspension unto what will be in the order of things hereafter, and the new Systeme of Mankind which will be in the World to come; when *the last may be the first and the first the last;* when Lazarus may sit above Cæsar, and the just obscure on Earth shall shine like the Sun in Heaven; when

Curricle, a short course. *Period*, an end.

personations shall cease, and Histrionism of happiness be over ; when Reality shall rule, and all shall be as they shall be for ever.

To be in that Mind unto which All Things are Present

When the Stoick said that life would not be accepted, if it were offered unto such as knew it, he spoke too meanly of that state of being which placeth us in the form of Men. It more depreciates the value of this life, that Men would not live it over again ; for although they would still live on, yet few or none can endure to think of being twice the same Men upon Earth, and some had rather never have lived than to tread over their days once more. Cicero in a prosperous state had not the patience to think of beginning in a cradle again. Job would not only curse the day of his Nativity, but also of his Renascency, if he were to act over his disasters, and the miseries of the Dunghil. But the greatest underweening of this Life is to undervalue that, unto which this is but exordial, or a Passage leading unto it. The great advantage of this mean life is thereby to stand in a capacity of a better ; for the Colonies of Heaven must be drawn from Earth, and the Sons of the first Adam are only heirs unto the second. Thus Adam came into this World with the power also of another, nor only to replenish the Earth, but the everlasting Mansions of Heaven. Where we were when the foundations of the Earth were lay'd, *when the morning Stars sang together and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy*, He must answer

Histrionism of happiness, theatrical or false appearance of happiness.
The Stoick, Seneca, the Roman philosopher and dramatist.
Renascency, second birth.
Underweening, underestimate. *Exordial*, introductory.

who asked it ; who understands Entities of preordination, and beings yet unbeing ; who hath in his Intellect the ideal Existences of things, and Entities before their Extances. Though it looks but like an imaginary kind of existency to be before we are ; yet since we are under the decree or prescience of a sure and Omnipotent Power, it may be somewhat more than a nonentity to be in that mind, unto which all things are present.

The Duration of the World

If the end of the World shall have the same foregoing Signs, as the period of Empires, States, and Dominions in it, that is, Corruption of Manners, inhuman degenerations, and deluge of iniquities ; it may be doubted whether that final time be so far of, of whose day and hour there can be no prescience. But while all men doubt and none can determine how long the World shall last, some may wonder that it hath spun out so long and unto our days. For if the Almighty had not determin'd a fixed duration unto it, according to His mighty and merciful designments in it, if He had not said unto it, as He did unto a part of it, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther ;* if we consider the incessant and cutting provocations from the Earth, it is not without amazement how His patience hath permitted so long a continuance unto it, how He, Who cursed the Earth in the first days of the first Man, and drowned it in the tenth Generation after, should thus lastingly contend with Flesh and yet defer the last flames. For since He is sharply provoked every moment, yet punisheth to pardon, and forgives to forgive again ; what patience could be content to act

Entities of preordination, predestined existences.
Entities before their Extances, existences before they had an outward form.
Prescience, foreknowledge.

over such vicissitudes, or accept of repentances which must have after penitences, his goodness can only tell us. And surely if the patience of Heaven were not proportionable unto the provocations from Earth; there needed an Intercessor not only for the sins, but the duration of this World, and to lead it up unto the present computation. Without such a merciful Longanimity, the Heavens would never be so aged as to grow old like a Garment; it were in vain to infer from the Doctrine of the Sphere, that the time might come when Capella, a noble Northern Star, would have its motion in the Æquator, that the Northern Zodiacal Signs would at length be the Southern, the Southern the Northern, and Capricorn become our Cancer. However therefore the Wisdom of the Creator hath ordered the duration of the World, yet since the end thereof brings the accomplishment of our happiness, since some would be content that it should have no end, since evil Men and Spirits do fear it may be too short, since good Men hope it may not be too long; the prayer of the Saints under the Altar will be the supplication of the Righteous World—that his mercy would abridge their languishing Expectation and hasten the accomplishment of their happy state to come.

A Prospect of Good to Come

Though good Men are often *taken away from the Evil to come*, though some in evil days have been glad that they were old, nor long to behold the iniquities of a wicked World, or Judgments threatened by them; yet is it no small satisfaction unto honest minds to leave the World in virtuous well temper'd times, under a prospect of good to come, and continuation of worthy ways acceptable unto God and Man. Men who dye in deplorable days, which they regretfully behold, have

not their Eyes closed with the like content ; while they cannot avoid the thoughts of proceeding or growing enormities, displeasing unto that Spirit unto whom they are then going, whose honour they desire in all times and throughout all generations. If Lucifer could be freed from his dismal place, he would little care though the rest were left behind. Too many there may be of Nero's mind, who, if their own turn were served, would not regard what became of others, and, when they dye themselves, care not if all perish. But good Men's wishes extend beyond their lives, for the happiness of times to come, and never to be known unto them. And therefore while so many question prayers for the dead, they charitably pray for those who are not yet alive ; they are not so enviously ambitious to go to Heaven by themselves ; they cannot but humbly wish, that the little Flock might be greater, the narrow Gate wider, and that, as many are called, so not a few might be chosen.

The World seems in its Wane

That a greater number of Angels remained in Heaven, than fell from it, the School-men will tell us ; that the number of blessed Souls will not come short of that vast number of fallen Spirits, we have the favorable calculation of others. What Age or Century hath sent most Souls unto Heaven, He can tell who vouchsafeth that honour unto them. Though the number of the blessed must be compleat before the World can pass away, yet since the World it self seems in the wane, and we have no such comfortable prognosticks of latter times, since a greater part of time is spun than is to come, and the blessed Roll already much replenished ; happy are those pieties, which solicitously look about, and

hasten to make one of that already much filled and abbreviated List to come.

The Created World is but a Small Parenthesis in Eternity

Think not thy time short in this World since the World it self is not long. The created World is but a small Parenthesis in Eternity, and a short interposition for a time between such a state of duration, as was before it and may be after it. And if we should allow of the old Tradition that the World should last six thousand years, it could scarce have the name of old, since the first Man lived near a sixth part thereof, and seven Methusela's would exceed its whole duration. However to palliate the shortness of our Lives, and somewhat to compensate our brief term in this World, it's good to know as much as we can of it, and also so far as possibly in us lieth to hold such a Theory of times past, as though we had seen the same. He who hath thus considered the World, as also how therein things long past have been answered by things present, how matters in one Age have been acted over in another, and how *there is nothing new under the sun*, may conceive himself in some manner to have lived from the beginning, and to be as old as the World; and if he should still live on, 'twould be but the same thing.

Join Both Lives Together and Live in One but for the Other

Lastly, if length of Days be thy Portion, make it not thy Expectation. Reckon not upon long Life:

think every day the last, and live always beyond thy account. He that so often surviveth his Expectation lives many Lives, and will scarce complain of the shortness of his days. Time past is gone like a Shadow; make time to come present. Approximate thy latter times by present apprehensions of them: be like a neighbour unto the Grave, and think there is but little to come. And since there is something of us that will still live on, join both lives together, and live in one but for the other. He who thus ordereth the purposes of this Life will never be far from the next, and is in some manner already in it, by a happy conformity, and close apprehension of it. And if (as we have elsewhere declared) any have been so happy as personally to understand Christian Annihilation, Extasy, Exolution, Transformation, the Kiss of the Spouse and Ingression into the

Divine Shadow, according to Mystical Theology, they have already had an handsome Anticipation of Heaven; the World is in a manner over, and the Earth in Ashes unto them.

Approximate, being near. *Apprehensions*, anticipations. *Conformity*, resemblance.

Exolution (exsolution), in mystical theology, the ecstasy or rapture by which the soul is as it were dissolved out of its own being and merged in the divine nature; the same thing as the "Kiss of the Spouse" and "Ingression (entrance) into the Divine Shadow."

ON CHAUCER

[John Dryden, born in 1631 of a good Northamptonshire family, was educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, inherited a small property in 1654 from his father, Erasmus Dryden, came to London, and in 1659 published his *Heroic Stanzas* on the death of Cromwell. In 1663 he made an aristocratic but unsuitable marriage; in 1670 he became Poet Laureate. His verse bridges the whole interval between the age of Milton and the age of Pope, but little of it survives except the four great didactic satires. "Nobody—hardly even Lucretius—has ever argued in verse like Dryden." In criticism he was equally powerful, and his influence in this as in the art of prose-writing was consciously directed towards the regularizing and elevating of our national style.]

. . . I proceed to Ovid and Chaucer; considering the former only in relation to the latter. With Ovid ended the golden age of the Roman tongue; from Chaucer the purity of the English tongue began. The manners of the poets were not unlike. Both of them were well-bred, well-natured, amorous, and libertine, at least in their writings; it may be, also in their lives. Their studies were the same, philosophy and philology. Both of them were knowing in astronomy; of which Ovid's books of the *Roman Feasts*, and Chaucer's *Treatise of the Astrolabe*, are sufficient witnesses. But Chaucer was likewise an astrologer, as were Virgil, Horace, Persius, and Manilius. Both writ with wonderful facility and clearness; neither were great inventors: for Ovid only copied the Grecian fables, and most of Chaucer's stories were taken from his Italian contemporaries, or their predecessors. Boccace his *Decameron* was first published, and from thence our Englishman has borrowed many of his *Canterbury Tales:* yet that of *Palamon and Arcite* was

written, in all probabilty, by some Italian wit, in a former age, as I shall prove hereafter. The tale of *Grizild* was the invention of Petrarch ; by him sent to Boccace, from whom it came to Chaucer. *Troilus and Cressida* was also written by a Lombard author, but much amplified by our English translator, as well as beautified ; the genius of our countrymen, in general, being rather to improve an invention than to invent themselves, as is evident not only in our poetry, but in many of our manufactures. I find I have anticipated already, and taken up from Boccace before I come to him : but there is so much less behind ; and I am of the temper of most kings, who love to be in debt, are all for present money, no matter how they pay it afterwards : besides, the nature of a preface is rambling, never wholly out of the way, nor in it. This I have learned from the practice of honest Montaigne, and return at my pleasure to Ovid and Chaucer, of whom I have little more to say.

Both of them built on the inventions of other men ; yet since Chaucer had something of his own, as *The Wife of Bath's Tale, The Cock and the Fox,* which I have translated, and some others, I may justly give our countryman the precedence in that part ; since I can remember nothing of Ovid which was wholly his. Both of them understood the manners ; under which name I comprehend the passions, and, in a larger sense, the descriptions of persons, and their very habits. For an example, I see Baucis and Philemon as perfectly before me, as if some ancient painter had drawn them ; and all the Pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales,* their humours, their features, and the very dress, as distinctly as if I had supped with them at the *Tabard* in Southwark. Yet even there, too, the figures of Chaucer are much more lively, and set in a better light; which, though I have not time to prove, yet I appeal to the reader, and am sure he will clear me from partiality. The thoughts and words remain to be

considered, in the comparison of the two poets, and I have saved myself one-half of the labour, by owning that Ovid lived when the Roman tongue was in its meridian ; Chaucer, in the dawning of our language : therefore that part of the comparison stands not on an equal foot, any more than the diction of Ennius and Ovid, or of Chaucer and our present English. The words are given up, as a post not to be defended in our poet, because he wanted the modern art of fortifying. The thoughts remain to be considered ; and they are to be measured only by their propriety ; that is, as they flow more or less naturally from the persons described, on such and such occasions. The vulgar judges, which are nine parts in ten of all nations, who call conceits and jingles wit, who see Ovid full of them, and Chaucer altogether without them, will think me little less than mad for preferring the Englishman to the Roman. Yet, with their leave, I must presume to say, that the things they admire are only glittering trifles, and so far from being witty, that in a serious poem they are nauseous, because they are unnatural. Would any man, who is ready to die for love, describe his passion like Narcissus ? Would he think of *inopem me copia fecit*, and a dozen more of such expressions, poured on the neck of one another, and signifying all the same thing ? If this were wit, was this a time to be witty, when the poor wretch was in the agony of death ? This is just John Littlewit, in *Bartholomew Fair*, who had a conceit (as he tells you) left him in his misery ; a miserable conceit. On these occasions the poet should endeavour to raise pity ; but, instead of this, Ovid is tickling you to laugh. Virgil never made use of such machines when he was moving you to commiserate the death of Dido : he would not destroy what he was building. Chaucer makes Arcite violent in his love, and unjust in the pursuit of it ; yet, when he came to die, he made him think more reasonably : he repents not of his love, for

that had altered his character ; but acknowledges the injustice of his proceedings, and resigns Emilia to Palamon. What would Ovid have done on this occasion ? He would certainly have made Arcite witty on his death-bed ; he had complained he was further off from possession, by being so near, and a thousand such boyisms, which Chaucer rejected as below the dignity of the subject. They who think otherwise, would, by the same reason, prefer Lucan and Ovid to Homer and Virgil, and Martial to all four of them. As for the turn of words, in which Ovid particularly excels all poets, they are sometimes a fault, and sometimes a beauty, as they are used properly or improperly ; but in strong passions always to be shunned, because passions are serious, and will admit no playing. The French have a high value for them ; and, I confess, they are often what they call delicate, when they are introduced with judgment ; but Chaucer writ with more simplicity, and followed Nature more closely than to use them. I have thus far, to the best of my knowledge, been an upright judge betwixt the parties in competition, not meddling with the design nor the disposition of it ; because the design was not their own ; and in the disposing of it they were equal. It remains that I say somewhat of Chaucer in particular.

In the first place, as he is the father of English poetry, so I hold him in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil. He is a perpetual fountain of good sense ; learn'd in all sciences ; and, therefore, speaks properly on all subjects. As he knew what to say, so he knows also when to leave off ; a continence which is practised by few writers, and scarcely by any of the ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace. One of our late great poets is sunk in his reputation, because he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way ; but swept like a drag-net, great and small. There was plenty

enough, but the dishes were ill sorted; whole pyramids of sweetmeats for boys and women, but little of solid meat for men. All this proceeded not from any want of knowledge, but of judgment. Neither did he want that in discerning the beauties and faults of other poets, but only indulged himself in the luxury of writing; and perhaps knew it was a fault, but hoped the reader would not find it. For this reason, though he must always be thought a great poet, he is no longer esteemed a good writer; and for ten impressions, which his works have had in so many successive years, yet at present a hundred books are scarcely purchased once a twelvemonth; for, as my last Lord Rochester said, though somewhat profanely, *Not being of God, he could not stand.*

Chaucer followed Nature everywhere, but was never so bold to go beyond her; and there is a great difference of being *poeta* and *nimis poeta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modest behaviour and affectation. The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us; but 'tis like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus istius temporis accommodata:* they who lived with him, and some time after him, thought it musical; and it continues so, even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect. 'Tis true, I cannot go so far as he who published the last edition of him; for he would make us believe the fault is in our ears, and that there were really ten syllables in a verse where we find but nine: but this opinion is not worth confuting; 'tis so gross and obvious an error, that common sense (which is a rule in everything but matters of Faith and Revelation) must convince the reader, that equality of numbers, in every verse which we call *heroic*, was either not known, or not always practised, in Chaucer's age.

It were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his verses, which are lame for want of half a foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise. We can only say, that he lived in the infancy of our poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the first. We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in process of time a Lucilius, and a Lucretius, before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer there was a Spenser, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being; and our numbers were in their nonage till these last appeared. I need say little of his parentage, life, and fortunes; they are to be found at large in all the editions of his works. He was employed abroad, and favoured, by Edward the Third, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, and was poet, as I suppose, to all three of them. In Richard's time, I doubt, he was a little dipt in the rebellion of the Commons; and being brother-in-law to John of Ghant, it was no wonder if he followed the fortunes of that family; and was well with Henry the Fourth when he had deposed his predecessor. Neither is it to be admired, that Henry, who was a wise as well as a valiant prince, who claimed by succession, and was sensible that his title was not sound, but was rightfully in Mortimer, who had married the heir of York; it was not to be admired, I say, if that great politician should be pleased to have the greatest Wit of those times in his interests, and to be the trumpet of his praises. Augustus had given him the example, by the advice of Mæcenas, who recommended Virgil and Horace to him; whose praises helped to make him popular while he was alive, and after his death have made him precious to posterity. As for the religion of our poet, he seems to have some little bias towards the opinions of Wicliffe, after John of Ghant his patron; somewhat of which appears in the tale of *Piers Plowman*; yet I cannot blame him for inveigh-

ing so sharply against the vices of the clergy in his age: their pride, their ambition, their pomp, their avarice, their worldly interest, deserved the lashes which he gave them, both in that, and in most of his *Canterbury Tales*. Neither has his contemporary Boccace spared them: yet both those poets lived in much esteem with good and holy men in orders; for the scandal which is given by particular priests reflects not on the sacred function. Chaucer's *Monk*, his *Canon*, and his *Friar*, took not from the character of his *Good Parson*. A satirical poet is the check of the laymen on bad priests. We are only to take care, that we involve not the innocent with the guilty in the same condemnation. The good cannot be too much honoured, nor the bad too coarsely used; for the corruption of the best becomes the worst. When a clergyman is whipped, his gown is first taken off, by which the dignity of his order is secured. If he be wrongfully accused, he has his action of slander; and 'tis at the poet's peril if he transgress the law. But they will tell us, that all kind of satire, though never so well deserved by particular priests, yet brings the whole order into contempt. Is then the peerage of England anything dishonoured when a peer suffers for his treason? If he be libelled, or any way defamed, he has his *scandalum magnatum* to punish the offender. They who use this kind of argument seem to be conscious to themselves of somewhat which has deserved the poet's lash, and are less concerned for their public capacity than for their private; at least there is pride at the bottom of their reasoning. If the faults of men in orders are only to be judged among themselves, they are all in some sort parties; for, since they say the honour of their order is concerned in every member of it, how can we be sure that they will be impartial judges? How far I may be allowed to speak my opinion in this case, I know not; but I am sure a dispute of this nature caused mischief in abundance

betwixt a King of England and an Archbishop of Canterbury ; one standing up for the laws of his land, and the other for the honour (as he called it) of God's Church ; which ended in the murder of the prelate, and in the whipping of his Majesty from post to pillar for his penance. The learned and ingenious Dr. Drake has saved me the labour of inquiring into the esteem and reverence which the priests have had of old ; and I would rather extend than diminish any part of it : yet I must needs say, that when a priest provokes me without any occasion given him, I have no reason, unless it be the charity of a Christian, to forgive him : *prior læsit* is justification sufficient in the civil law. If I answer him in his own language, self-defence, I am sure, must be allowed me ; and if I carry it further, even to a sharp recrimination, somewhat may be indulged to human frailty. Yet my resentment has not wrought so far, but that I have followed Chaucer, in his character of a holy man, and have enlarged on that subject with some pleasure ; reserving to myself the right, if I shall think fit hereafter, to describe another sort of priests, such as are more easily to be found than the Good Parson ; such as have given the last blow to Christianity in this age, by a practice so contrary to their doctrine. But this will keep cold till another time. In the meanwhile, I take up Chaucer where I left him.

He must have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his *Canterbury Tales* the various manners and humours (as we now call them) of the whole English nation, in his age. Not a single character has escaped him. All his pilgrims are severally distinguished from each other : and not only in their inclinations, but in their very physiognomies and persons. Baptista Porta could not have described their natures better, than by the marks which the poet gives them. The matter

and manner of their tales, and of their telling, are so suited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even their several sorts of gravity: their discourses are such as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; such as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some are unlearn'd, or (as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and some are learn'd. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are several men, and distinguished from each other as much as the mincing Lady-Prioress and the broad-speaking gap-toothed Wife of Bath. But enough of this; there is such a variety of game springing up before me, that I am distracted in my choice, and know not which to follow. 'Tis sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that *here is God's plenty*. We have our forefathers and great-grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days: their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names than those of Monks, and Friars, and Canons, and Lady Abbesses, and Nuns; for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of Nature, though everything is altered. . . .

THE END

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